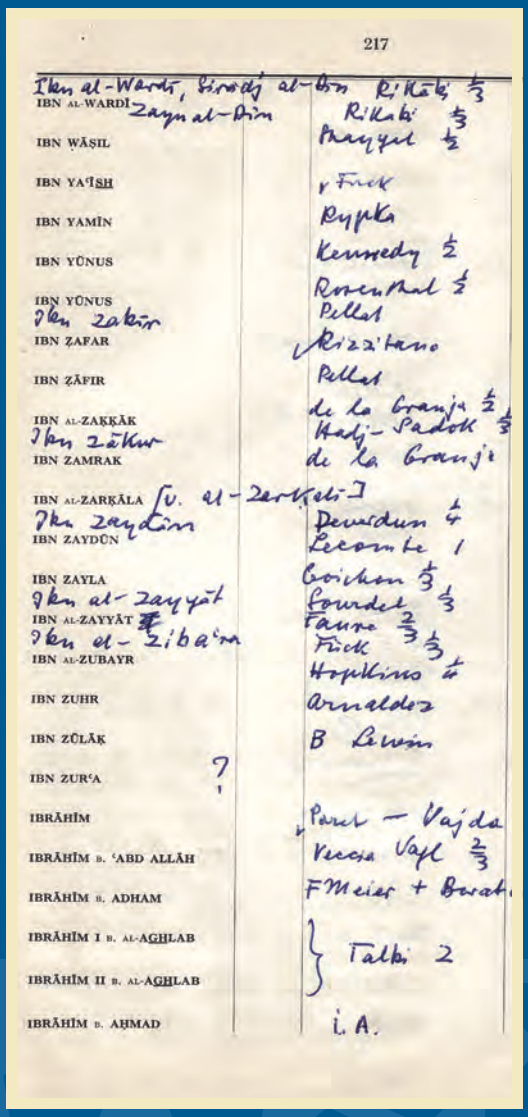

A History of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*

By Peri Bearman

Resources in Arabic and Islamic Studies

A HISTORY OF THE *ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM*

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Number 9
A History of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*

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Peri Bearman

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A HISTORY OF THE *ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM*

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Series Editors' Preface

The first two editions of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* were—we daresay remain—the leading resource in the field of Arabic and Islamic Studies. When we began our graduate careers in the mid-1980's, the Second ('New') Edition had only reached the letter J, and the First Edition, which appeared from 1913–1936, had been reprinted. We had completed our PhDs and were already teaching when the Second Edition came to an end in 2005. We would hear stories from our teachers and from the editors—about the challenges and pitfalls of commissioning, vetting, editing, translating, copyediting, proofing, and delivering the articles, about the personalities involved, about the conflicts and concessions. Like everyone else in the field, we always wanted to know more about the history of this monumental work of scholarship. When we learned, therefore, that Peri Bearman—the only scholar who was both an in-house editor at Brill, the publishing house that for over a century produced the *Encyclopaedia*, and also a member of the editorial board—had completed a manuscript on the history of the *Encyclopaedia*, we asked if she would let us publish it. She immediately agreed. We are especially delighted to include, as part of our Resources in Arabic and Islamic Studies series, this engaging history of one of the premier resources in Arabic and Islamic Studies.

Joseph E. Lowry
Devin J. Stewart
Shawkat M. Toorawa

Preface

This is the untold history of the first two editions of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, the unrivaled reference work on Islam in the twentieth century.[1] Conceived at the dawn of collaborative scholarship, in 1892, interrupted by two world wars, and completed at the dawn of the electronic era, in 2004, it is a story of a monumental project undertaken by the greatest scholars of the age; a story of friendship and rivalry; and a story of the extraordinary circumstances in which it took shape.

The *Encyclopaedia of Islam* started as a wisp of an idea, but became a colossus, not only because of its significance as the major research tool in the field of Islamic Studies for so many decades, but also because it consumed the lives of those intimately involved. "As soon as I find someone to take over the chairmanship [of the encyclopedia board] I'm resigning," proclaimed Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, who was in charge of keeping the encyclopedia afloat in its first decade.[2] "Damn this Encyclopaedia," wrote Victor Ménage in the 1970s.[3] The prospect of such a lengthy purgatory, however, was absent when the encyclopedia project was proposed in 1892 at the animated meeting of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists in London. In the late nineteenth century, the novelty of scholarly conferences and of meeting colleagues face to face had not yet dulled, ideas flowed freely among new acquaintances and old friends, and grand plans flourished, even if impractical in the extreme. There were many gaps to fill in the nascent field of Islamic Studies, which at that time was but a small subdivision of Oriental scholarship, just emerging from its role in supplying scholars of theology and practitioners of missiology with enough facts—however misinformed—to refute the veracity and call of Islam.

A few wrong turns in the first years sealed the fate of the encyclopedia. Had the author of the proposal, a Cambridge University professor, not abruptly died before any steps could be taken, the project might well have appeared with Cambridge University Press; had the first chosen editor been less modest and more organized, the Dutch might not have formed a bastion at the head; and had there not existed such amity between one

1. Hereafter, for the most part, referred to as "the encyclopedia."

2. Letter Snouck Hurgronje to Theodor Nöldeke of March 1, 1915, in P. Sj. van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam: The Letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöldeke* (Leiden, 1985), 227. Hereafter, unless given a qualification, all correspondence is epistolary.

3. Victor Ménage to Emeri van Donzel, December 6, 1974. In author's possession.

of the towering Dutch Arabists and professor at Leiden and the esteemed Dutch publisher's co-owner in the late 1800s, the encyclopedia could have perished stillborn. But with the surreptitious arrangement between the two Dutchmen, the outcome was shaped, for the scholar was methodical and resourceful, the publisher eager and experienced, and the Dutch view of the world not fettered by the weight of an international language—it is difficult to imagine that a British or German publisher would have welcomed an encyclopedia in three separate language editions, which was to be the fate of the first edition.

Those three languages—English, French, German—and, in particular, the cultural attitudes that were harbored in them, would cause no end of trouble, extra work, and tensions, but the prospect of money flowing from as many countries as possible required acceding to these very cultural demons. With no omen of the First World War on the horizon, when Germany—and Germans—would fall out of favor, and with an expectation that the national Academies were rife with funds that they would spend freely on an international project such as the much-needed encyclopedia when published in their own language, another surreptitious agreement was entered into. The ultimate editor of the first edition, also a Dutchman, faced a fait accompli; but the unorthodox decision was both better than having to choose one of the three languages to publish in—not to mention far better than a polyglot edition, which was tentatively considered—and more successful in cementing the scholarly loyalty it relied on than had it embraced only one. Yet, the trilingualism of the first edition required an assortment of native or quasi-native speakers of German, English, and French to assist in the editing, and in particular, the translating of articles. As is described in chapter one, this was not always a smooth process. The aggravation of translation persisted with the second edition, although the languages had been reduced to English and French (figs. 1 and 2). Also in contrast, this edition began with three editors, one for each of the encyclopedia languages and a Dutch scholar based in Leiden, continuing the legacy of the Dutch involvement.

After the First World War, scholars from the Central Powers faced a wall of reproach and were barred from conferences and other scholarly ventures until the welcome sign was hung out again in 1926. The encyclopedia was more tolerant—although some Germans involved in the encyclopedia had waved the flag of war in reprehensible fashion, their involvement continued, their contributions requested and published. This tolerance was likely due in large part to the Dutch majority presence, for the Netherlands was neutral in the war, did not suffer as much as other countries, and had ties to Germany that were historically close and lengthy. It is conceivable that the German edition was the most consulted in the Netherlands; this certainly played a role in the conniving after the Second World War of the Dutch editor to re-include German in the second edition. Although he was not successful, it seems to have been less anti-German sentiment that dispatched it than the overriding desire to continue in just one language—English. The attempt to eliminate the French edition was thwarted, however, by heroic posturing by the French editor who pulled the equivalent of Khrushchev banging his shoe on the table.

The first edition was completed in 1936, and when the International Congress of Orientalists resumed meeting after the Second World War, in 1948 in Paris, plans were laid to bring out a second edition of the encyclopedia. The growth of the field of Islamic Studies and the changing world order, especially as the imperialist enterprise neared its end, cried out for an update. The second edition was planned to be only slightly larger than the four-volume first edition, but when it reached four volumes, it was still struggling with the first half of the alphabet. It was finally completed in twelve volumes, in 2004.[4] A third edition, not treated here, was begun before the ink was even dry—indeed, while the editors of the second edition were still hard at work. Unlike the first two editions, it was initiated by the publisher, driven principally by the spectre of lost income rather than scholarship for scholarship's sake.

The extended service of the preeminent reference work in Islamic Studies demands an overview, but dredging up history can be a fraught enterprise. There might well be anxiety about potential revelations, for the combing of archives has the potential to smudge ensconced reputations. Indeed, there was considerable backbiting in the early years—getting the encyclopedia off the ground and keeping it in the air was a constant worry that did not always bring out the best in people, and being caught up in a world war against former friends and colleagues also had an adverse effect on the finest in one's character. But from the vantage point of at least a hundred years later, reading the testy remarks is more amusing than horrifying, and makes flesh and blood scholars of the names we have consigned to iconic status. As for the encyclopedia's second edition, most of those involved appear to have succumbed mutely to the rote routine of editing, or willfully self-censored when putting irritated thoughts to paper. Fiery words, malicious gossip, and the casting of aspersions are rare. Flashes of spitefulness and disappointment can be spotted in the background or read between the lines, but for the most part the second edition's fifty-five years seem to have passed in harmony, or in a civilized imitation thereof. During my time as editor—in the latter years of the second edition—I remember spoken indictments, of course, and even hurled some myself, but these cannot be footnoted; since this history is not intended as a memoir in which recall and regurgitation are given free rein, oral history is only sporadically relied upon. Even then, I have chosen to exercise discretion by omitting identifying particulars or indelicate details (possible readerly Schadenfreude notwithstanding). Any peccadillos, in any case, rarely transcend the norm for academe—prose too logorrheic, contributors too forgetful of deadlines, scholars too touchy about turf.

The first and second chapters cover the two editions, respectively, in a purely chronological order—chapter one moves from 1892 to 1936, and chapter two from 1948 to 2004. Chapter three treats the publisher, E. J. Brill, and the hugely complex publishing process.

4. The English edition was completed in 2004, the French edition in 2006. Both the first and second editions included a supplement volume; and the second edition added a thirteenth, index volume.

Chapter four discusses the swirling world into which the encyclopedia was thrust. This chapter, which covers the times in which the encyclopedia was proposed and then toiled on, and the external processes that shaped it, is necessarily succinct in its coverage of context. So much has been written on the two world wars and on the large issues of nationalism, colonialism, and orientalism that any collective treatment in a chapter could only be seen as summary. It is hoped that chapter four nevertheless adds an historical dimension to the encyclopedia by treating some of the invisible influential events, without pretending to delve into the isms that have spawned literary genres of their own. The volume ends with three appendices: the first reproduces the sample of lemmata (*Spécimen*) prepared in 1899 to attract contributors and funding bodies to the project; the second is a translation into English of a French booklet written by a disgruntled editorial assistant who was let go in 1909; and the third is a brief history of two supplementary publications, *An Historical Atlas of Islam* and the indexes to the second edition.

Importantly, the encyclopedia was a European product. Americans did become involved—principally through the National Endowment for the Humanities, which was responsible for the luxurious funding it enjoyed for its last thirty years—but its sensibilities and the traditions it held onto were European. The cauldron of languages, the nationalist temperament, the aura of business attended to by venerable gentlemen—all were fundamental to the encyclopedia's DNA, elevating it and encumbering it at will. To write its history is to bounce back and forth between English, French, German, Dutch, and a smattering of Italian and Spanish. Principal sources for the history of the first edition include: a Dutch dissertation on the first editor; Goldziher's German diary; De Goeje's Dutch letters to his friend Nöldeke and Nöldeke's German letters in return; and the cantankerous booklet in French on the Encyclopedia's presumed failures noted above. For the second edition, I relied heavily on the encyclopedia's own archive of letters and reports of meetings, now in my possession, which bring the seminal figures of Sir Hamilton Gibb, Évariste Lévi-Provençal, Joseph Schacht, Charles Pellat, and Edmund Bosworth to life in the full epistolary glory of their native and adopted languages. In addition, the Harvard University Archives has two boxes of Gibb material, including two folders that relate to the encyclopedia, which I was able to consult, and Harvard University has an almost unparalleled library collection.

To impart the historical flavor of the era, I have taken over quotes originally in English verbatim, including typos, errors of grammar, lack of punctuation, and underlinings to indicate emphasis. I have chosen to avoid noting [*sic*] at every turn, so as not to overwhelm the text. When I paraphrase what someone has said or written, I include the original phrasing in a footnote, but otherwise I have translated nearly all quotations from the multiple languages into English. It is therefore merely a mirage that the encyclopedia embraced a lingua franca and that everyone spoke and wrote a fluent English.

Some technical matters: I followed Dutch onomastic conventions, thus M. J. de Goeje but on its own, De Goeje; E. van Donzel but on its own, Van Donzel, and so on. All referenced online sites were last accessed in August 2017, but since "the average life of a Web

page is about a hundred days" I have kept a copy of every webpage I reference.[5] When citing encyclopedia articles, I have omitted the ligatures. For currencies, I use $ for the American dollar, £ for the English pound, ƒ for the Dutch guilder, DM for the German mark, and FF for the French franc (and anciens francs up to 1960).[6] Finally, because I intend this to be as objective a history of the encyclopedia as possible, despite having some irreverent feelings about various matters described, I have chosen to speak of myself in the third person, however jarring that is.

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I am deeply indebted to family, friends, and colleagues for help with this volume, either actively—by giving of their time—or passively—by tolerating my absentminded self and not counting the days, months, and years that were taken up by it. In the first place, I owe my esteemed and treasured fellow editors, Thierry Bianquis, Edmund Bosworth, Emeri van Donzel, and Wolfhart Heinrichs a large debt of gratitude for their friendship and for the trust they placed in me. I will forever miss our good times together. I am grateful as well to the two French editors, Gérard Lecomte and Charles Pellat, whose lives I briefly shared, for accepting me into the fold although I represented much that raised their hackles, being female, American, and plainspoken. To fill in gaps or shore up my porous memory, I asked much of the far better ones of Hans de Bruijn, Julian Deahl, F. Th. Dijkema, Emeri van Donzel, Simone Nurit, and Roger Savory, and I am very appreciative of their willingness to help and delve deep. For giving freely and sweetly of their time to read drafts, advise, and encourage, I owe much to Daniël van der Zande and to my very good friend Anna Livia Beelaert; for help beyond the call of duty, and for general amenability all around, I am very grateful to Michael Hopper and Arnoud Vrolijk, and their respective libraries at Harvard and Leiden; and for his special brand of enthusiasm, matched with warmth and wisdom, I am beholden to Shawkat Toorawa, whose improvements to the text were always on the mark. Lastly, I thank my publisher and editors for including this volume in RAIS and for miraculously finding a reader who did not mind "pretty much another book in the footnotes."

Words go only so far in thanking Harrie for his bottomless vat of love, patience, and support. It was a fine day when we met, and the weather has never turned. This work is dedicated to him and to Jule and Dashiell, who without choice but always without complaint came along for the encyclopedia ride.

5. Quote from Jill Lepore, "The Cobweb: Can the Internet Be Archived?" *The New Yorker*, January 26, 2015.

6. Historical rates of conversion or currency worth are notoriously difficult to access. I have consulted various sources—printed and online—and only offer conversions in the footnote for an approximate understanding.

Abbreviations

ACLS	American Council of Learned Societies
BSMES	British Society for Middle Eastern Studies
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
EI2	*Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition*
EIr	*Encyclopaedia Iranica*
IJMES	*International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*
LUL	Leiden University Library
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

Chapter One
The First Edition

The ninth meeting of the International Congress of Orientalists was in full swing when on Friday, September 9, 1892, the president of the General Semitic Section, William Robertson Smith, cautiously advanced the idea of forming a provisional committee to look into "the organization of a group of scholars to undertake the compilation of an Oriental Encyclopaedia."[1] The suggestion was seconded by four of the meeting's participants, of whom two—Joseph von Karabacek and Ignaz Goldziher—would go on to play an important role leading to the encyclopedia's actualization. On the following Monday the committee was duly formed and the encyclopedia's scope more narrowly defined to "Arabic-Muhammadan."[2] While it can be argued that those present at the 1892 meeting in London did not as yet apprehend the magnitude of the proposed venture, the significance of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, which would become a tour de force and archetype of twentieth-century scholarship, was certainly at this moment appreciated.

In terms of desiderata, the field of Oriental Studies was lush with promise so that such a laconic approach to initiating an ambitious and monumental project seems befitting of the times. Just seventy years earlier, the first academic societies and their attendant journals had been founded,[3] followed by the start of these International Congresses themselves in 1873.[4] Behind the establishment of these institutions was the genuine

1. *Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, September 1892: Order of Proceedings for Saturday, September 10th*, 9–10, and *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists*, ed. E. Delmar Morgan (London, 1893), 1:xxxviii, li.

2. Ibid.

3. The first two European societies were respectively French and English: the Société asiatique and its *Journal asiatique* were founded in Paris in 1822; the Royal Asiatic Society was founded in London in 1823, its journal (*JRAS*) in 1834. (The latter society had a British precursor in the Asiatic Society, founded in Calcutta in 1784 by the philologist and jurist Sir William Jones; it later formed the first branch of the RAS.) The American Oriental Society, founded in 1842, launched its journal (*JAOS*) in 1843; and the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft was founded in Berlin in 1845, its journal (*ZDMG*) in 1847. The societies are still active and each has a dedicated website.

4. For a contemporary report of the second, third, and fourth congresses, see Robert Needham Cust, *Linguistic and Oriental Essays*, vol. 1*: Written from the Year 1846 to 1878* (London, 1880), 411–59. The interest

desire to facilitate the exchange and dissemination of knowledge of eastern cultures—acquired, largely, from the successes of the imperialist enterprise. Although some scholars maintained intensive epistolary contact with one another, the opportunity to meet and greet professionally beyond one's personal circle had been largely unavailable until the rise of these societies.[5] Now, scholars who for the most part exercised their craft in isolation had occasion to join forces, and the assembly of scholars and the fertile field of scholarship provided the impulse to create prodigious corpora on a collective scale. Along with the "Oriental Encyclopaedia," such works as the *Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, and the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* were spawned at this time.[6]

Robertson Smith's proposed encyclopedia had a forerunner in the *Bibliothèque orientale ou dictionnaire universel*, compiled by Barthélémy d'Herbelot (1625–1695) and published posthumously in 1697.[7] This was a pioneering work at the time of its appearance—

in eastern civilizations extended beyond academic circles: Cust makes note of the "intelligent public" that attended the second congress, as well as of the reproduction in extenso in the English newspapers of many of the addresses given there (pp. 411, 429); across the Atlantic, *The New York Times* of October 1, 1874, also favored the second congress with a lengthy report of its objectives and, in particular, of the address given by Max Müller (1823–1900, Oxford professor of comparative philology). For an Arab's impressions of the sixth congress, held in Leiden, see "Het Leidsch Orientalisten-congres: Indrukken van een Arabisch congreslid vertaald en ingeleid," in Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide geschriften* (Bonn and Leipzig, 1923–1927), 6:245–72. That the Arab, Amīn al-Madanī, understood little of the proceedings and therefore embellished freely for the benefit of his Egyptian readership, does little to detract from his impressions. For more on the International Congress of Orientalists, see chapter four, below.

5. Cf. J. T. P. de Bruijn, "Collective Studies of the Muslim World: Institutions, Projects and Collections," in *Leiden Oriental Collections, 1850–1940*, ed. Willem Otterspeer (Leiden, 1989), 94. Ignaz Goldziher, for example, left behind 14,000 letters from 1,650 correspondents upon his death; see Róbert Simon, *Ignác Goldziher: His Life and Scholarship as Reflected in His Works and Correspondence* (Leiden, 1986), 160 (this includes letters that were copied from other collections and added to Goldziher's 13,700 originals; see also Joseph de Somogyi, "A Collection of the Literary Remains of Ignace Goldziher," *JRAS* [1935], 149–54, who adds, "Nearly every Islamic and Semitic scholar of his time, from nearly every country, including the entire Muslim Orient, corresponded with him"). Simon (*Ignác Goldziher*, 15–16) attributes this in large part as well to the isolation and disrespect Goldziher experienced on a daily basis in Budapest. For an electronic repository of all of Goldziher's letters in the collection of the Hungarian Academy of Science, access The Goldziher Correspondence, under Digital Collections, at http://konyvtar.mta.hu/index_en.php?name=v_3_2.

6. For the first, originally entitled "Encyclopaedia of Indian Research," see the announcements in *JRAS* (1894), 180, and (1896), 789, and, of the first volume, (1897), 149. For an appreciation of the second, see D. H. Müller's two corrective articles, "Glossen zum Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum" [I and II], *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenländes* 3 (1889), 203–32; 5 (1891), 1–8; of the last, also a brainchild of Robertson Smith, see Edward Montet, "Quarterly Report on Semitic Studies and Orientalism," *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review and Oriental and Colonial Record* 9, nos. 17 and 18 (Jan–April 1900), 118–19.

7. For a thorough study of its reception and contents, see Henry Laurens, *Aux sources de l'orientalisme:*

it was one of the "Arabic books" William Brown Hodgson (1801–1871), "America's first language officer," studied while in Algiers as an appointee of John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State—but by 1892 it was outdated.[8] The contemporary reference works *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary* by Thomas William Beale (1881) and the *Dictionary of Islam* by T. P. Hughes (1885) were judged limited and unsatisfactory. Michaël Jan de Goeje, professor at Leiden University, dismissed the latter after a quick browse, disparaging its compiler as "badly prepared."[9] Two contemporary encyclopedias appearing in, respectively, Beirut and Constantinople—*Dāʾirāt al-maʿārif*, begun in 1876 by the Syrian Buṭrus al-Bustānī (d. 1883), and the six-volume universal dictionary, *Kamûsu'l a'lâm*, edited by Sami Bey Fraseri (d. 1904)[10]—had been compiled with another readership in mind.[11] Initial work was being undertaken contemporaneously on a reference work on Semitic philology initiated by the renowned publishing house Trübner in Strasbourg—intended to be one of a series that included *Grundriss der iranischen Phololog*ie (1895–1901) and the

La Bibliothèque orientale de Barthélemi d'Herbelot (Paris, 1978). Cf. Robert Irwin, *The Arabian Nights: A Companion* (London, 1994), 14–15.

8. As per J. H. Kramers, "De wordingsgeschiedenis van de Encyclopaedie van den Islam," *Oostersch Instituut Jaarboek* 1941 (V) (Leiden, 1942), 10: "omdat zij [...], zoals het werk van d'Herbelot verouderd waren." See also Jean Réville, in *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 36 (1897), 263: "il s'agit de combler une lacune de plus en plus fâcheuse"; and Ignaz Goldziher, in *Österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient* 23 (1897), 115: "ist dies Produkt der wissenschaftlichen Stufe einer Zeit, in welcher der orientalischen Kenntnisse ihren frühen Kindheit noch nicht entwachsen waren [...]." For Hodgson, see Michael O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order: Intellectual Life and the American South, 1810–1860* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2004), 1:173.

9. "Es ist schade dass gewöhnlich die Leute welche eine Arbeit wie ein Wörterbuch des Islam, das so nützlich sein könnte, unternehmen, dazu so schlecht vorbereitet sind, wie in Hughes' Fall. Ich habe mir das Buch nicht angeschaft, da ich beim Durchblättern keinen günstigen Eindruck bekam." M. J. de Goeje to Ignaz Goldziher, 1887, Leiden University Library (henceforth LUL), WHS, BPL 2389, taken from Daniël van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma, 1851–1943: Een bijdrage aan de geschiedenis van de oriëntalistiek in Nederland en Europa" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utrecht, 1999; 2nd version 2000), 2:553n22. This study has done most of the legwork for the early start of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* and I have used it exhaustively, especially with regard to the correspondence between all the major players, painstakingly studied by Van der Zande. Where I do not reference a borrowing, I refer the reader to chapters 7 and 8 of Van der Zande's study.

10. See for the former work, *Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition* (henceforth *EI2*), 12:159–61; Albert Hourani, "Bustani's Encyclopaedia," in idem, *Islam in European Thought* (Cambridge, 1991), 164–73; Dagmar Glass, "Buṭrus al-Bustānī (1819–1883) als Enzyklopädiker der arabischen Renaissance," in *Studien zur Semitistik und Arabistik: Festschrift für Hartmut Bobzin zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Otto Jastrow et al. (Wiesbaden, 2008), 107–39; also on Buṭrus al-Bustānī himself, Butrus Abu Manneh, "The Christians between Ottomanism and Syrian Nationalism: The Ideas of Butrus al-Bustani," *IJMES* 11 (1980), 287–304. For the latter work, see the article "Şemseddin Sâmî" (Ö. F. Akün), in *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1968), 11:411–22; the short entry "Sami, Şemseddin" (S. Paker), in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, ed. Mona Baker (London, 2001), 581–82; and Louis Mitler, *Ottoman Turkish Writers: A Bibliographical Dictionary of Significant Figures in Pre-Republican Turkish Literature* (New York, 1988), 147–49*f*.

11. Kramers, "Wordingsgeschiedenis," 10: "voor een geheel ander publiek berekend waren."

above-mentioned *Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde* (1897–1920)—but it was derailed when its editor August Müller died suddenly in September 1892 and nobody was willing to replace him.[12] Evidently, a reference work like the encyclopedia proposed by Robertson Smith was much needed at the time and on this all could agree, despite it being unclear at the outset what exactly was intended.

1. The Planning Stage, 1892–1899

The provisional committee named that Monday, September 12, was made up of "twelve scholars, representing the principal countries of Europe."[13] William Robertson Smith, Professor of Arabic at Cambridge University, was appointed president.[14] We know that one of the committee members was Ignaz Goldziher (fig. 3), who confided his participation to his diary.[15] Another must have been Sir Henry Howorth (1842–1923), a member of Parliament and amateur historian, for his seat on the committee prompted a com-

12. Ibid., 10–11. In a letter to Goldziher dated September 21, 1892, Theodor Nöldeke wrote that he would not—could not—take on the task: "Trübner drängt mich, ich solle die Redaction übernehmen, aber ich kann das nicht und thue das nicht." He doubted that Albert Socin would undertake it either. Simon, *Ignác Goldziher*, 182. Simon (p. 425n7) asserts that the planned work "was partly realized in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*."

13. *Transactions*, ed. Morgan, 1:xxxix; cf. Kramers, "Wordingsgeschiedenis," 11. The members of the provisional committee are unknown, but must for the most part correspond to the final committee formed seven years later, about which more below. The type, size, and name of the encyclopedia remained unsettled for several years.

14. Two very thorough biographies of W. Robertson Smith exist: see John Sutherland Black and George Chrystal, *The Life of William Robertson Smith* (London, 1912); and Bernhard Maier, *William Robertson Smith: His Life, His Work and His Times* (Tübingen, 2009). See also *William Robertson Smith: Essays in Reassessment*, ed. W. Johnstone (Sheffield, UK, 1995), esp. the section "Smith as Arabist and Orientalist," 352–97. For a concise academic profile (and of other Arabists in Europe throughout the nineteenth century), see Johann Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa: Bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1955), 210–11. Although Robertson was his mother's family name, which he used as a middle name, I use it in citing him following the example of one contemporary (1882) publication by W. H. Green entitled *Professor Robertson Smith on the Pentateuch*.

15. Ignaz Goldziher, *Tagebuch*, ed. Alexander Scheiber (Leiden, 1978), 150. Goldziher (1850–1921), a seminal figure in the field, has been called "the father of Arab-Islamic studies" (L. I. Conrad, in *JRAS* 17 [2007], 325). See Fück, *Arabischen Studien*, 226–31; the obituary notice by Richard Gottheil, in *JAOS* 42 (1922), 189–93; and the very personal *in memoriam* written by C. Snouck Hurgronje, in *De Gids* 85 (1921), 489–99 (which relates inter alia the endearing anecdote of the newly minted Dr. Goldziher—on a visit in Leiden in 1870 for both de-stressing and study—tentatively asking Prof. de Goeje whether he could have access to some Arabic manuscripts held at Leiden University and De Goeje bringing them to him at his lodgings in Leiden that evening when returning the visit, p. 490; one of these was Ibn al-Jawzī's *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ wa-l-mudhakkirīn*, which Goldziher copied and which forty-page copy is in the Goldziher Collection, Hungarian Academy of Sciences Library, see Tamás Iványi, "'*Ilayka l-muštakā lā minka rabbī…*': The Young Goldziher at Work," in *The Arabist* 23 [2011], 117n2).

plaint from Theodor Nöldeke on account of his amateur status.[16] In a list that circulated seven years later, in Goldziher's progress report at the eleventh congress in 1897, the following twelve members are named as having been the provisional committee members: "Barbier de Meynard, Chauvin, de Goeje, Goldziher, Guidi, Karabacek, le comte de Landberg, Mehren, D. H. Müller, Nöldeke, le baron de Rosen, Socin."[17] Goldziher adds that Robertson Smith was president and A. A. Bevan acted as secretary,[18] bringing the total to fourteen members as well as omitting Howorth—it seems likely therefore that this committee makeup is of a later date. Although the precise identity of the original provisional committee can thus only be guessed at, its exact composition is of little practical concern since it ended up neglecting its mandate and luxuriating in inactivity.

Along with his being the initiator of the project, Robertson Smith's tenure as editor-in-chief of the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, which he had just completed, was also reason for him to enjoy the confidence of the committee and to be appointed its leader. "But of all the world you are the man to do it, and all the collaborators will feel safe under your guidance," wrote Michaël Jan de Goeje to Robertson Smith at the end of October 1892.[19] Robertson Smith was in poor health at the time of the meeting, however, and he was diagnosed immediately after his return to Cambridge with spinal tuberculosis, an illness from which his brother had died some seven years earlier and about which, therefore, he had no illusions. Indeed, Robertson Smith himself would be dead by the time of the next congress.[20] Although Nöldeke was convinced that Smith had

16. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:548n7. For Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930), professor at the University of Strasbourg, eminent Semitist and Quran scholar, see Fück, *Arabischen Studien*, 217–20; Rudi Paret, *Arabistik und Islamkunde an deutschen Universitäten: Deutsche Orientalisten seit Theodor Nöldeke* (Wiesbaden, 1966), 1, 13–15; and obituary notices by C. H. Becker, in idem, *Islamstudien: Vom Werden und Wesen der islamischen Welt* (Leipzig, 1924–1932), 2:514–22, and C. Snouck Hurgronje, in *ZDMG* 85 (1931), 239–81.

17. "Rapport de M. Goldziher sur le projet d'une Encyclopédie musulmane présenté à la Section Islamique le 7 septembre 1897," no. 11.

18. Anthony Ashley Bevan (1859–1933), Professor of Arabic at Cambridge. For an obituary notice, see *JRAS* (1934), 219–21. For a brief description of the minor players with regard to their role in the encyclopedia—e.g., Barbier de Meynard, Chauvin, Guidi, Mehren, Müller, Rosen, and Socin—see Fück, *Arabischen Studien*; the major players will be treated more fully below.

19. Black and Chrystal, *Life*, 543; cf. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:549n9. For Michaël Jan de Goeje (1836–1909), one of the great Dutch Arabists, student of Reinhart Dozy (1820–1883), and one of a long line of renowned Leiden professors of Arabic, see further below; also Fück, *Arabischen Studien*, 211–16; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Michaël Jan de Goeje*, Fr. tr. M. Chauvin (Leiden, 1911); and obituary notices by A. A. Bevan, in *JRAS* (July 1909), 849–50, and M. Th. Houtsma, in *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse letterkunde, 1910, Bijlage tot de handelingen van 1909–1910* (Leiden, 1910), 34–59, accessible online at www.dbnl.org.

20. Black and Chrystal, *Life*, 543–56. A website is dedicated to Robertson Smith (www.william-robertson-smith.net/en/e010homeEN.htm), but it has quite a few inaccuracies, including an incorrect month of death. Robertson Smith died on March 31, 1894, at the age of forty-seven. His friends were not com-

already worked out the essentials,[21] and Goldziher penned that the idea of the encyclopedia matured during his visit with him after the congress,[22] any thoughts Robertson Smith might have had concerning the encyclopedia, such as publishing with Cambridge University Press,[23] disappeared with him. The encyclopedia project remained stillborn until the scholars reconvened two years later, at the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists, held September 3–12, 1894, in Geneva.

In his diary entry on the Geneva conference, Goldziher writes with little fanfare that he was given the task of preparing "an Encyclopedia of Islam" and that he would report back at the next conference.[24] He omits mentioning that it was he who had reminded the assembly about the project, which had now solidified into "an Islamic encyclopedia covering the history, geography, religion, sciences, and arts of the Muslim countries," and that he had proposed appointing De Goeje to take over the committee's leadership given Robertson Smith's untimely passing six months previously. When De Goeje declined the honor, Goldziher himself was unanimously selected.[25]

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pletely in the dark about his being ill; De Goeje noted Robertson Smith's worrisome condition ("ik vrees dat zijn toestand nog zorgelijk is") in a letter to Nöldeke from July 27, 1892, having remarked on it since at least 1890, and was "very concerned" two years later, on February 25, 1984, when he had not heard from Robertson Smith for a few days (Nöldeke spent a year in Leiden in 1857 and acquired enough Dutch to read the letters to him from Dutch correspondents, but he answered in German). M. J. de Goeje to Th. Nöldeke (LUL, WHS, BPL 2389 and Or. 8952 for their letters to each other) of July 7, 1890; January 9, 1891; July 27, 1892; February 25, 1894. I owe a large debt of gratitude to Daniël van der Zande, who shared his transcribed letters with me. Henceforth, I cite only the dates of the letters between De Goeje and Nöldeke as reference.

21. "Vielleicht haben Sie inzwischen aber schon Ihren Plan in den Hauptsachen fertig. Sie sind ja auf diesem Gebiet ein erfahrener Practicus." Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:549n9.

22. "Im Verkehr mit Robertson Smith kam auch die Idee der arabisch-muhammedanischen Realencyklopädie zur Reife [...]." Goldziher, *Tagebuch*, 150. Also, "Son projet fut alors l'objet de délibérations sérieuses, dans un petit cercle de collègues, qui, durant plusieurs jours, jouissaient de l'inoubliable hospitalité des collègues de l'Université de Cambridge." Goldziher, "Rapport de M. Goldziher," 1.

23. He mentioned this in a letter to De Goeje shortly after the London congress. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 1:229.

24. Goldziher, *Tagebuch*, 186: "[ich] wurde mit den Vorarbeiten einer Encyclopädie des Islams betraut. Darüber soll ich 1897 dem nächsten Kongress in Paris Bericht erstatten."

25. *Actes du dixième Congrès international des orientalistes. Session de Genève, 1894,* Pt. 1*: Comptes rendus des séances* (Leiden, 1897), 130–31. The choice of Goldziher was not universally approved; Gottlieb W. Leitner (1840–1899) wrote a dissenting opinion in *The Islamic and Asiatic Quarterly Review and Oriental and Colonial Record* n.s. 8 (1894), 389: "We venture to consider that an English Scholar, well acquainted with Muhammadans both from study and long residence in the East, would be even a more fitting person to preside over such a task which, to be properly done, must be the work of several Arabic Scholars, acting under a competent committee," and he advanced M[ortimer] S[loper] Howell (1841–1925) as preferred choice. For Leitner, who played quite a role in the brouhaha that surrounded the international congress in the early 1880s (for which, see chapter four, below), see the obituary notice in *JRAS* (1899), 725–29.

Although he accepted the task of organizing the encyclopedia, Goldziher almost immediately recognized that he might not be the best person to do so. In a letter to De Goeje two months after his nomination, Goldziher noted matter-of-factly that he did not "possess the personal qualifications" necessary for such work. His talents and personality lent themselves to other than organizational matters. "Someone with more authority and persuasive power" had been needed, he would conclude later.[26] His isolation in Budapest and the prevailing anti-Semitism in Hungary, which was understood among his colleagues to have been behind his not being offered a paid professorial appointment at the university until 1905,[27] might have made his work coordinating the project more difficult had he thought along those lines. But Goldziher limited himself to suggesting to De Goeje that he was actually not the right person for the job at hand, and he then spent the next six months, in expectation of useful advice as to how to commence, happily working on various projects, including his *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*.[28] As it turns out, Goldziher's inability to take charge and his actively soliciting the advice of De Goeje would have a major impact on the future course of the encyclopedia, for, ever practical and resourceful, De Goeje approached Frans de Stoppelaar, co-owner of the publishing house E. J. Brill, with whom he had a longstanding publishing arrangement.[29] The two of them—Dutchmen in Leiden—mapped out the next steps. The letter outlining these suggestions was sent to Goldziher in January of 1895.[30]

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26. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 1:230.

27. For the date, Goldziher, *Tagebuch*, 244; cf. Goldziher's letter to Th. Nöldeke of May 13, 1905, in Simon, *Ignác Goldziher*, 276. The year 1904 for his appointment is given by Bernard Lewis (Ignaz Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*, tr. A. and R. Hamori [Princeton, 1981], x). Although Goldziher waited a long time for a proper professorial appointment in Hungary, he declined earlier attempts to bestow a chair on him, including that of Robertson Smith in Cambridge. Even earlier, De Goeje wrote despairingly to Nöldeke in 1890, "Too bad Goldziher doesn't benefit from all the vacancies!" (M. J. de Goeje to Th. Nöldeke, July 7, 1890). Goldziher faced anti-Semitism most of his career, the indignities of which he recounted in his diary; his last journal entry, dated September 1, 1919, mentioned the "barbaric forms" it had taken in the university and Academy (Goldziher, *Tagebuch*, 313). He was also at times denounced and harrassed by his own Jewish community ("Und innerhalb dieses ungarischen Schriftthumes habe ich einen hervorragenden Theil meiner Kraft den Jüdischen gewidmet—umgeben von schmutzigem Undank und frecher Lästerung", ibid., p. 231; cf. pp. 22, 88, 212). The relationship with that community and the larger Jewish one was prickly on both sides, however, see pp. 167–68, where Goldziher maligns contemporary scholars of Jewish literature.

28. Two volumes (Leiden, 1896–1899).

29. Both the eight-volume *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (Leiden, 1870–1894) and al-Ṭabarī's *Annales* (Leiden, 1879–1901), of which De Goeje was editor-in-chief, were published with E. J. Brill. For Frans de Stoppelaar, and for more on E. J. Brill's history and role, see chapter three, below.

30. It must have been on or right before January 27, which was when De Goeje wrote Nöldeke that he had just written a long letter about the encyclopedia to Goldziher: "Ik heb zoo pas een langen brief aan Goldziher geschreven over de Encyclopaedie." M. J. de Goeje to Th. Nöldeke, January 27, 1895. A copy of

Michaël Jan de Goeje (fig. 4) was an outstanding Dutch scholar of Islamic studies. He was born in 1836 in the northern province of Friesland in the Netherlands. His father was a Protestant minister with an interest in Oriental languages.[31] At sixteen, De Goeje began a pharmaceutical internship but quickly found it not to be an abiding interest; upon his father's early death at the age of forty-eight two years later and his mother's subsequent move to Leiden, Michaël Jan de Goeje transferred to Leiden University to study with Th. W. Juynboll and R. P. A. Dozy, two of Holland's finest Arabists in the 1850s.[32] During his studies he met the German Semitist Theodor Nöldeke, who came to Leiden in 1857–1858; their friendship would last until De Goeje's death some fifty years later. His doctoral dissertation on a section of al-Yaʿqūbī's *Kitāb al-Buldān* would start him on a lengthy study of Arabic geographical literature, culminating in his eight-volume edition *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*. De Goeje was appointed professor at Leiden University in 1866, a position he held for forty years until his retirement in 1906. In addition to the encyclopedia, which owes everything to De Goeje's managerial skills, he planned and directed an edition in twenty volumes of the great Muslim historian al-Ṭabarī's world history, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*.[33]

The letter De Goeje wrote to Goldziher went astray, a fact that would not change the course of history but contributed to the continued dormancy of the project. It would be June 1895 before De Goeje again broached the subject, having in vain looked for news of the encyclopedia in the intervening letters Goldziher sent him. When Goldziher professed ignorance of the letter in question, De Goeje reproduced as much as he could from memory, or from a carbon copy, and wrote again. Paramount among his suggestions was the drafting of a list of entries, which would then be printed and sent to colleagues whom

this letter to Nöldeke, in which he outlined what he had said, must have come in handy when De Goeje had to reproduce it (see below).

31. He won a prize while at university for an essay entitled "Exponantur praecepta Corani, de officiis hominum erga Deum, erga semet ipsos et erga alios" [Explaining Quranic precepts of the duties of men toward God, toward themselves, and toward others]. M. Th. Houtsma, in *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse letterkunde, 1910, Bijlage tot de handelingen van 1909–1910* (Leiden, 1910), 34, accessible online at www.dbnl.org.

32. For a brief survey of the renowned study of Arabic at Leiden University over the centuries, see G. W. J. Drewes, "Oriental Studies in the Netherlands: An Historical Study," *Higher Education and Research in the Netherlands* 1,4 (1957), 3–13.

33. See n19, above, for sources on De Goeje's life and works. Jan Just Witkam, former Curator of the Oriental Manuscripts in the Leiden University Library, relates an amusing anecdote regarding the sale in the 1960s of three separate printings of the Ṭabarī edition by Brill, in three different Leiden venues, at three radically different prices: the original set sold for around *f*2,000 at Brill's antiquariat, a new offset version sold for half the price from the publisher itself, and a—probably illegal—reprint from Baghdad sold for a fraction of the price at Brill's bookstore. J. J. Witkam, "De sluiting van Het Oosters Antiquarium van Rijks Smitskamp," *De Boekenwereld* 23 (2006–7), 208–9, accessible online under Publications at janjustwitkam.nl.

Goldziher had chosen to be contributors. The drafter of the list of entries—here De Goeje suggested Paul Schwartz[34]—would receive an honorarium of 2,000 German marks, funded by one of the academic societies, for example, the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft (DMG). The "eventual publishers," although it is clear that De Goeje is thinking of E. J. Brill, would refund the payment if the project was successful. De Goeje also advised that the list of entries be kept simple—if there was enough interest in the publication, a second, more complete edition was then warranted.

Acting on this advice, Goldziher promptly approached the DMG for funds.[35] Ernst Windisch took up the negotiations on behalf of the DMG.[36] Writing directly to De Goeje, whose name Goldziher had dropped, Windisch proposed that a five-man committee lead the enterprise, which would fall under DMG auspices, even suggesting names to fill it: De Goeje himself, Goldziher, Franz Praetorius,[37] Albert Socin,[38] possibly Eugen Prym,[39] or Eduard Sachau.[40] Publishing with Brill was an option. De Goeje conceded the committee suggestion, even with the heavy German concentration, but strongly defended E. J. Brill's role as publisher. He went so far as to crunch numbers: taking a German-language encyclopedia as starting point, with a print-run of 2,000 copies, the publisher would begin

34. Paul Schwartz (1867–1938) was professor at Leipzig University. His name was suggested to De Goeje by Albert Socin (Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:556n34). According to De Goeje's letter to Nöldeke of January 27, 1895, however, he had originally mentioned either Josef Marquart in Bonn or Paul Herzsohn at E. J. Brill. But Nöldeke answered not to recommend Marquart—advising that he was unpractical and unreliable—which De Goeje acknowledges in a letter dated March 25. Th. Nöldeke to M. J. de Goeje, January 28 and March 15, 1895; M. J. de Goeje to Th. Nöldeke, March 25, 1895.

35. He notes doing so in his diary entry of August 18, 1895: "In der letzten Juli Woche habe ich von hier [Tutzing, where he was enjoying Count Landberg's hospitality] wegen der Ermöglichung der Vorarbeiten zur muhammedanischen Real-Encyklopaedie einen schriftlichen Antrag an die Deutsche morgenländische Gesellschaft abgesendet." Goldziher, *Tagebuch*, 194.

36. German Indologist and Celtic scholar (1844–1918). From 1877–1918, Windisch held the chair of Sanskrit studies at the University of Leipzig, and at this time was a member of the Board of the DMG.

37. Franz Praetorius (1847–1927), Semitist and Ethiopianist, Professor of Oriental Languages at the University of Halle, and since 1892 Secretary of the DMG (see *Die Deutsche Morgenlandische Gesellschaft 1845–1895: Ein Ueberblick*, Leipzig 1895, 14, 73). For his academic career, see his obituary notice in *ZDMG* 81 (1927), 139–67 (reprinted in R. Paret and A. Schall, eds., *Ein Jahrhundert Orientalistik: Lebensbilder aus der Feder von Enno Littmann und Verzeichnis seiner Schriften* [Wiesbaden, 1955], 37–45); Ernst Hammerschmidt, *Ethiopian Studies at German Universities* (Wiesbaden, 1970), 21–25.

38. Albert Socin (1844–1899), a Swiss orientalist, was Professor of Semitic Languages at the University of Leipzig and a DMG board member; see Fück, *Arabischen Studien*, 241–42; Sabine Mangold, *Eine "weltbürgerliche Wissenschaft": Die deutsche Orientalistik im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 2004), 145n748.

39. Eugen Prym (1843–1913), Professor of Oriental Philology at the University of Bonn; for his academic career, see C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, 2:456–62.

40. Eduard Sachau (1845–1930), professor at the University of Berlin and first director of the Seminar für orientalische Sprachen (1845–1930), cf. Fück, *Arabischen Studien*, 234; Mangold, *Eine "weltbürgerliche Wissenschaft"*, 165 and n871 for more references.

making a profit after 1,550 sales; if there was also an English-language edition, or French, profitability would start at 900 copies. E. J. Brill would repay the DMG its initial costs by sharing the annual profit it made on the work.[41]

Despite De Goeje's willingness to accommodate a strong DMG-presence in the encyclopedia, objections were raised by DMG-members themselves. Albert Socin, for example, questioned whether the German-oriented focus would not deter French or English colleagues from contributing. The argument that the DMG budget did not allow for a salary to be paid to an editorial secretary was also put forth, not to mention concern with regard to the extra burden that taking part in the committee would place on two of the DMG board members.[42]

While letters between De Goeje and his German colleagues flew back and forth—Goldziher conveniently sidelined for the moment—E. J. Brill took the matter into its own hands, effectively eliminating the need for the intervention of the DMG. When it became a public limited company in January 1896, a third director was appointed, C. M. Pleyte,[43] who would be responsible for the ethnographic market. He was also given the proofreader Paul Herzsohn's responsibilities at the company, whereupon the latter became redundant and in principle available to draft the list of entries. E. J. Brill agreed to carry the full financial risk of the encyclopedia provided Herzsohn was approved in this new role. Since Herzsohn was one of the two names De Goeje had originally suggested in his letter to Goldziher a year earlier, it would seem as if his participation had been a subject of discussion between De Stoppelaar at Brill and De Goeje already. In December 1895 De Goeje wrote Goldziher about this forthcoming development and asked whether he would agree to Herzsohn's tackling the list of entries. Goldziher did not know Herzsohn personally but had had dealings with him in the previous months during the publication of his *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*; although this work had been held up due to Herzsohn's slowness, about which Goldziher bitterly complained in his diary,[44] he agreed to the new arrangement.

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41. Leiden University Library, Or. 18.099, Ar. 4913, pp. 1–9a. Cf. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 1:232.

42. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 1:233.

43. Cornelis Marinus Pleyte (1863–1917) was a Sundanese ethnologist. Before his appointment at E. J. Brill, he was curator of the Ethnological Museum of the Royal Zoological Society "Natura Artis Magistra" in Amsterdam. A year after his appointment, Pleyte was asked to be a member of the Dutch commission for the exposition at the World Fair to be held in 1900 in Paris, for which he was sent to Dutch India and from which he would return in August 1899. He left E. J. Brill in March 1900 in order to work full-time on the exposition. In 1902 he traveled to Batavia, where he taught ethnography until he died of an asthma attack in July 1917, at the age of fifty-four. For a full biographical sketch and list of publications, see *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde, 1919* (Leiden, 1919), accessible online at www.dbnl.org.; also Joost Willink, *Stages in Civilization: Dutch Museums in Quest of West Central African Collections (1856–1889)* (Leiden, 2007), 245. For more on E. J. Brill's history and role, see chapter three, below.

44. "Leider geht der Druck (Brill, Leiden) so langsam vorwärts, dass ich schier daran verzweifle, auf

Paul Herzsohn (1842–1931) began his studies of Oriental philology in Bonn in his late thirties, after an earlier career in commerce and receipt of a not insignificant inheritance upon the death of both of his parents.[45] He earned his doctor's title in 1886 with the dissertation "Der Überfall Alexandrien's durch Peter I. König von Jerusalem und Cypern, aus einer ungedruckten arabischen Quelle [...]."[46] In 1886 or 1887 he moved to Leiden and lived in the nearby village of Zoeterwoude for twenty years, moving back to Düsseldorf in 1907. He published a volume of poetry (*Schlehdorn und Rosen*) with E. J. Brill in 1891, and at the time his responsibilities were usurped by the new director he was working there as a proofreader, quite slowly as was his wont. While acknowledging his slowness as a drawback in his letter to Goldziher, De Goeje claimed that it was the sensible choice since there was nobody else one could pinpoint as the right man for the job. This faint praise would fade away in time. When Herzsohn was planning to retire and return to Düsseldorf, De Goeje wrote Nöldeke that the encyclopedia would progress far better without him.[47]

The Eleventh International Congress of September 1897, where Goldziher had agreed to present a progress report, provided the immediate goal for a measure of accountability. Between January 1896 and September 1897, the sounds of distress coming from Goldziher swelled. On March 5, 1896, in a letter to Nöldeke primarily concerned with impressions from his trip to Egypt and the unreasonable accusations of incompetence the former Turkish Foreign Minister Savvas Pasha had levied against him in a book,[48] Goldziher added that he needed to start thinking seriously again about the encyclopedia, about which he would like to write Nöldeke a separate letter, since the letter in hand was

dem Titelblatt die Jahreszahl 1895 sehen zu können." Goldziher, *Tagebuch*, 189 (entry of 29 April 1895). Since the book was at this time "unter der Presse" and Herzsohn was the proofreader at Brill, one can conclude that he was occupied with it at this stage of the printing process. At some point along the way Goldziher seems to have passed on the same complaint to De Goeje, who when going to bat for Herzsohn referred to it: "Die Schattenseite ist dass er langsam arbeitet, wie Sie selbst erfahren haben." Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:558n44. Goldziher notes the book's publication "at long last" in his entry of 27–30 September 1896 (Goldziher, *Tagebuch*, 203).

45. See Wolfgang Fenner, in *Beiträge zur Heimatkunde der Stadt Schwelm und ihrer Umgebung* 42 (1992), 145–47, which biographical information is used for the entries on Herzsohn in *Lexikon Westfälischer Autorinnen und Autoren, 1750 bis 1950*, accessible online at www.lwl.org; and *Jüdische Schriftstellerinnen und Schriftsteller in Westphalen*, accessible online at www.juedischeliteraturwestfalen.de. See also Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:557n42.

46. Bonn: Universitäts-Buchdruckerei von Carl Georgi, 1886. According to his Vita (p. 51), he studied with Nöldeke both privately, to gain admittance to the university, and in his doctoral studies at Bonn.

47. "Zonder hem zullen we veel beter opschieten." M. J. de Goeje to Th. Nöldeke, December 26, 1906.

48. *Le droit musulmane expliqué: Réponse à un article de M. Ignace Goldziher, Professeur de langues Sémitiques à l'Université de Budapest paru dans le Byzantinische Zeitschrift II, 2, p. 317–325—1893* (Paris, 1896), written in response to Goldziher's review in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (1893, pp. 317–25) of Savvas Pasha's earlier publication, *Étude sur la théorie du droit musulman*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1892–1898).

already full.[49] Although that is innocuous sounding, it portends more to come. By July 1897 his misery was full-blown; in a letter to De Goeje he complained of not having heard from Herzsohn for months, despite his having sent him a general outline composed of nine fields, from two of which he hoped Herzsohn would draft a list of entries in time for the Paris congress, and of not having enough time for his research; he simply could not manage the editorship of the encyclopedia and his administrative work for the Jewish community in Budapest at the same time.[50] De Goeje replied that Goldziher could not leave the stage without finding a successor, not because the project would fail—it would not—but because of the investment E. J. Brill had already made and because Herzsohn would find himself otherwise without a job. De Goeje's sympathies did not seem to lie with Goldziher by this point, and he seemed to be unaware that Herzsohn had inherited enough to provide for a comfortable life without gainful employment.[51] He was also, unlike Goldziher, seemingly a born man of action: to his mind Goldziher needed only to decide on the principal features of the encyclopedia, select the people he wanted to collaborate with, and convince them to participate.[52] It did not help matters that the encyclopedias De Goeje and Goldziher were planning had little resemblance to each other, the former apparently envisaging a one-volume work with brief, almost lexical entries, which could or should be completed within four to six years, and from which a larger, more substantial work could ensue.

49. Simon, *Ignác Goldziher*, 205; see also Goldziher, *Tagebuch*, 201–2. Goldziher's last pupil, Joseph de Somogyi, writes of his "small pearl-like letters" and how he would answer his correspondents on "open postal cards." Joseph de Somogyi, "My Reminiscences of Ignace Goldziher," *The Muslim World* 51 (1961), 5–17.

50. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 1:234–35. Goldziher's diary, in which he recounted in sometimes vivid terms what kept him occupied both emotionally and concretely, is remarkably free of any mention of the encyclopedia. Between the congresses of 1894 and 1897 the encyclopedia merited (the slightest of) mention only in the entries of August 18, 1895 (see n35, above) and May 4, 1897, when Goldziher made note of his having by and large finished the report about the encyclopedia's progress for the September congress. Although Goldziher fulminated often in his diary about sundry matters that were important to him, the encyclopedia and the toll it took on his equanimity barely seem to have made a lasting impression; he does not even acknowledge his definitive standing down, in May 1898. Goldziher's academic appointment in Budapest did not come with a salary and his livelihood came from his serving as secretary—for thirty years—for the Jewish community (Goldziher, *Tagebuch*, 81; Snouck Hurgronje, in *De Gids* 85 [1921], 495).

51. De Goeje knew of Herzsohn's independent wealth upon his departure from Brill ten years later, since he mentioned it in a letter of 1906 to Baron von Rosen (Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:558n47), but he either did not at this time or pretended not to. It is not likely that Herzsohn acquired his fortune while working on the encyclopedia in the period between 1897 and 1906.

52. "Das alles [the content] in Hauptzügen richtig zu bestimmen und Ihre Leute zu wählen und zu überreden, wird Ihnen viel Mühe und Zeit kosten." M. J. de Goeje to I. Goldziher, December 3, 1895: Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:560n50.

Despite Goldziher's tribulations, he did not step down at the Paris meeting in 1897, although he did ask for another to take his place, someone who was "in a situation, personally and geographically, that makes it easier for him to acquit himself of such an obligation."[53] In his presentation to the Muslim Languages and Archeology Section, he admitted to having made little headway in the past three years, during which, with De Goeje's help and advice, he had directed his efforts in three directions: the choice of collaborators, the material side of the enterprise, and the scope of the encyclopedia. As for the first, he had written "a number of specialists" in different fields, asking them to lend their services to the project, receiving many refusals but also some acceptances—he still had much to do to fill in the gaps which is why he did not want to present the list of these names on this occasion. With regard to the second, it had been necessary to find a central place, either an academic society or a publisher, that could satisfy the technical needs regarding the preparatory work—with De Goeje's support, he had entered into contact with E. J. Brill, which was preparing the work destined to serve as basis for the encyclopedia. Finally, he sketched out the general framework, divided into nine sections, for the encyclopedic content, which, although rudimentary and provisory, should provide the basis for a distribution of the work among future collaborators. A sample of the list that Herzsohn had worked on, entitled *Erste Sammlung von Stichwörtern für eine Enzyklopädie des Islam*, was distributed to the Section members.

Goldziher ended his progress report with the fervent wish that the encyclopedia, one of many works that could result as a product of the collaboration created and encouraged by the success of the International Congress and which would always be seen in this light, would be taken under its wing and taken up as its cause.[54] He recommended forming a permanent committee of five or six members to ensure the success of the encyclopedia, in the first place assuming responsibility for finding the funding needed for its execution—no small matter—from governments and academic societies.[55] Consequently, the Section appointed ten men, eight of whom had made up the slumbering provisional committee, to take a seat on the permanent committee: Adrien Barbier de Meynard (Paris), Edward Browne (Cambridge), Michaël Jan de Goeje (Leiden), Ignaz Goldziher (Budapest), Ignazio Guidi (Rome), Joseph von Karabacek (Vienna), Count Carlo von Landberg (Tutzing),[56] Baron Viktor Rosen (St. Petersburg), Albert Socin (Leipzig), and

53. Goldziher, "Rapport de M. Goldziher," 5–6.

54. "[Notre Encyclopédie] pourrait être menée à bonne fin, avec les plus sérieuses chances de succès, si le Congrès voulait bien la prendre sous son patronage, et faire de notre entreprise sa propre cause." Ibid., 8.

55. "[A]yant de mission de faire les démarches nécessaires pour assurer la réussite du projet de publication d'une Encyclopédie musulmane, et notamment d'obtenir l'adhésion des Gouvernements et des sociétés savantes, ainsi que leur concours pécuniaire." Ibid., 10.

56. Carlo Landberg (1848–1924), an independent scholar who spent many years in the Middle East collecting dialects, was by most accounts a proud and difficult man. Although Fück includes an en-

Frans de Stoppelaar (E. J. Brill, Leiden).[57] The two new men were Browne, representing Cambridge University, presumably in place of Robertson Smith, and De Stoppelaar, representing E. J. Brill; Victor Chauvin, August von Mehren, D. H. Müller, and Theodor Nöldeke stepped down. The fact that De Goeje had been named to Brill's supervisory board when Brill changed legal status, in January 1896,[58] did not seem to pose a conflict of interest to the two thus intertwined, and E. J. Brill's influence in the project at this point seems to have been a given. Not everyone was appeased, however. The Semitist Hartwig Hirschfeld (1854–1934)[59] felt strongly enough to have a letter published in which he argued that the adopted resolution "to approach the various governments and learned societies for material support [...] would delay the work indefinitely." He advocated that a publisher be secured

> who would undertake the work on his own responsibility, say on the lines of Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities." This work has paid its way so well that a third edition has already been published, and it has proved a success in every sense of the word. I am sure that if the Muhammedan Encyclo-

try on him (pp. 307–8), he leaves out any suggestion of the controversies that swirled around his person. Some sort of squabble seems to have followed Landberg at every step of the way, such as that advertised by Richard Burton, another contrarian character, in his supplemental volume of *The Nights* (1886, 416–17), where he disparages Landberg by quoting in full his "letter under the aegis of a portentous coronet and initials blazing with or, gules and azure," after first ridiculing his "being styled by others [...] and by himself" as Dr.—which title Landberg actually did earn in Leipzig under H. L. Fleischer in 1883 ("in absentia," notes Snouck Hurgronje in his own critique of Landberg, "Dr. C. Landberg's 'Studien' geprüft" [Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide geschriften*, 1923–1927, 5:123–44]). For more disparaging comments, see Cust, *Linguistic and Oriental Essays*, 1:201–2. For a detailed description of Landberg's relationships with Dutch scholars, see Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 1:160–64; and see Snouck Hurgronje's comments in P. Sj. van Koningsveld, *Orientalism and Islam: The Letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöldeke* (Leiden, 1985); idem, *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft: The Letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to I. Goldziher* (Leiden, 1985), index s.n. Landberg. See also Eric Macro, "The Austrian Imperial Academy's Expeditions to South Arabia 1897–1900: C. de Landberg, D. H. Müller and G. W. Bury," *New Arabian Studies* 1 (1993), 54–82. For his career, see the monograph by his compatriot, K. V. Zetterstéen, *Carlo Landberg som orientalist* (Uppsala, 1942).

57. *Actes du douzième Congrès international des orientalistes, Rome 1899* (Florence, 1901), clxxix; Goldziher, "Rapport de M. Goldziher," 10; Kramers, "Wordingsgeschiedenis," 12. Goldziher notes in his diary that he was named "director-general" on the committee. Goldziher, *Tagebuch*, 218.

58. M. Th. Houtsma, "Levensbericht van M. J. de Goeje," in *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde, 1910* (Leiden, 1910), accessible online at www.dbnl.org. De Goeje was most circumspect about his positions on the board—he was appointed president of E. J. Brill's supervisory board a few years later, by the spring of 1900 at least, according to the circular announcing Pleyte's successor, C. Peltenburg—and notified colleagues only in 1906, after his retirement from the university. It would seem that he felt there was something to hide. Cf. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:561n56.

59. For an obituary notice, see *JRAS* (1935), 229–30.

> paedia were compiled in a similar manner, a sale of 500–600 copies could easily be predicted.[60]

Although the Paris congress energized Goldziher, who enjoyed the "touching signs of deeply felt friendship and genuine respect from all sides"[61] and allowed himself to be seated on the permanent committee, he seemed to regret his temporary distraction just two months later. In answer to the faithful De Goeje asking at the end of November 1897 whether he had written the communication about the planned encyclopedia that had been agreed would be sent to funding bodies, Goldziher replied in the negative. It was not only pointless to ask for funds when so little headway had been made on determining the substance of the encyclopedia, Goldziher argued, he was once more convinced of the impossibility of his being in charge. He suggested that another be given the responsibility, for instance, Gerlof van Vloten, De Goeje's former student.[62] Not having received a response, on May 24, 1898, Goldziher repeated his disinclination to lead the project: he had done nothing concrete since the Paris congress, despite it having been on his mind, and someone else must be found. The continued holding pattern seems to have finally galvanized De Goeje into action; after considering a few candidates, among whom Gerlof van Vloten and Karl Vollers,[63] he shortly thereafter asked Martinus Houtsma (fig. 5), his former assistant and current professor at Utrecht University, to take over.

Martinus Houtsma (1851–1943) considered himself the last person suitable to lead such a large undertaking.[64] His modesty notwithstanding, he was also skeptical of its success, not only because of the little progress it had made despite the various decisions taken by the Congress since 1892 but also because of the considerable financial concerns that stood in its way.[65] Nevertheless, the offer was too tempting. Houtsma had distinct

60. *JRAS* (1898), 207–8.

61. Goldziher, *Tagebuch*, 219 (diary entry of April 17, 1898).

62. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 1:238. Gerlof van Vloten (1866–1903) studied with De Goeje and later became his assistant (Adjutor) from 1890 till his early death, by his own hand, at 37. An obituary, written by De Goeje, appeared in *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde, 1903* (Leiden, 1903), accessible online at www.dbnl.org. See also the notice by A. J. Wensinck, in *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* (Leiden, 1911–1937), 3:1325–26, accessible online. Van Vloten was commemorated in the poem "In Memoriam" (in the collection *Dante en Beatrice en andere verzen*, Amsterdam, 1908) by the Dutch poet Frederik van Eeden, who was married to Van Vloten's sister Martha; another brother-in-law was the well-known poet Albert Verwey, who also paid tribute to him in ten sonnets (in *Uit de lage landen bij de zee* [1904]). For Van Vloten's relationships with artists, see Jeroen Brouwers, *De laatste deur: Essays over zelfmoord in de nederlandse letteren* (Amsterdam, 1983), 136–41. De Goeje did not seem to seriously consider him for the position of editor of the planned encyclopedia, however.

63. Karl Vollers (1857–1909) was Professor of Oriental Languages at Jena at this time, having just finished a ten-year stint as director of the Khedival Library in Cairo.

64. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," is a detailed study of the life and work of Martinus Houtsma; for an unsigned obituary notice, see *JRAS* (1947), 136.

65. Kramers, "Wordingsgeschiedenis," 12. Houtsma's knowledge of the problems facing the ency-

ideas about the scope of the encyclopedia, which would later clash with those De Goeje harbored, as well as the ambition to break out of his isolation in Utrecht, where since 1890 he held the chair of professor of Hebrew.[66] Despite hearing the discouraging news from Goldziher firsthand that work on the encyclopedia was still in its infant stages, Houtsma agreed to take over the leading role. He did have a condition before accepting, however: he insisted on assurances that the finances be taken care of by others.[67]

The unofficial appointment took place on September 28, 1898, on E. J. Brill premises, when Houtsma formally declared his acceptance in the presence of the two co-directors Van Oordt and De Stoppelaar, Herzsohn, Van Vloten, and De Goeje.[68] After the meeting, De Goeje sent a circular to the members of the permanent committee asking for their approval. All but Count Landberg, who was traveling, and De Stoppelaar sent back their endorsement soon after.[69] Goldziher's formal endorsement is missing as well, but for him it had been a fait accompli from the beginning. "I am convinced the encyclopedia could

clopedia were mostly secondhand for he was not much of a congress-goer; he did attend the 1894 Geneva congress but generally kept himself up to date by reading the proceedings. Goldziher must have remarked on Houtsma's penchant for registering for (so as to receive the proceedings) but avoiding attending such meetings, since in a letter to him of October 9, 1893, Houtsma answered: "What do you mean, I cut off all connections!" He continued, perhaps with a poke at Goldziher: "It is true that I badly neglect the International Congresses, but not everyone can truly be useful and active there with pleasure." Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:471n3.

66. Unlike Leiden, the University of Utrecht offered bare pickings for scholars of Oriental studies, both in terms of resources and colleagues: "nicht allein fehlt es hier an Orientalisten, sondern auch an Orientalia," Houtsma wrote Baron Rosen who announced a visit by one of his students. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 1:289–90.

67. According to his own, emphatic statement in Kramers, "Wordingsgeschiedenis," 12: "Ik verklaarde daarom uitdrukkelijk, dat ik mij eerst dan tot iets kon verbinden, wanneer deze [the financial concerns] buiten mijne bemoeienis uit den weg geruimd waren." See also *Actes du douzième Congrès international des orientalistes, Rome 1899*, clxxx, where the stipulation preceding his acceptance also comes through loud and clear. In the circular to the committee members proposing Houtsma's appointment, however, De Goeje significantly watered down the two conditions for Houtsma's acceptance: that the permanent committee agree to his appointment and that it give "unofficial support" (*appui officieux*) for the purpose of gaining the backing and financial assistance of governments and academic societies. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:563n68. Perhaps this is why Houtsma felt the need to repeat himself in a letter to De Goeje dated October 11, 1898, in which he stated that he would lay down the mantle if the encyclopedia's finances were not secured. Cf. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 1:242.

68. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:563n68. Van Vloten's presence at the meeting is unexplained. Perhaps in his capacity of De Goeje's assistant he wrote the minutes, which are in any case missing. For Adriaan van Oordt and De Stoppelaar, see chapter three, below.

69. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:563n68. This might be evidence that De Stoppelaar sat on the committee in a different role than the others, but since he was the sole committee member besides De Goeje himself who was present at the meeting, it could simply signal that he felt he had already endorsed the appointment. Goldziher managed to get Landberg's approval the following spring. This endorsement method of writing to all the Advisory Board members for approval was also used for the

not be in better hands," Goldziher wrote to De Goeje ecstatically, finally relieved of the burden of responsibility—he would prove himself a faithful encyclopedia collaborator after this.[70] Indeed, showing that he was made of different cloth, Houtsma went straight to work: he asked colleagues to commit to articles, some of which he had printed—as an example of what was to come—in time for the Rome Congress in 1899, which true to form he did not attend, and while he waited for the results of the fundraising campaign the permanent committee had initiated, Houtsma worked with Herzsohn on completing the list of entries.[71]

In addition to the financial question, which needed to be resolved before the encyclopedia could advance much further, there were other loose ends, such as the definitive scope, language, and transliteration method of the encyclopedia. As for the first, Houtsma had decided ideas about the type of encyclopedia he wanted and, as with Goldziher, they differed from the one-volume, simpler version that De Goeje had been advocating all along. Houtsma envisioned a work that would present an inventory or state of the art of the chosen field, aimed at a wide readership, not just the civil servant De Goeje had in mind. It would cover all of Muslim culture, including such topics as weights and measures, clothing, numismatics, architecture, and music.[72] This was more expansive than any idea put forth to date but it seems to have been adopted without much discussion; Goldziher would describe the encyclopedia at the 1899 congress in Rome in these terms: "The results of our scholarship thus need [...] to be brought to the attention of all and this goal cannot be achieved except by publishing a veritable compilation of everything one can know about the Muslim East."[73] Houtsma would also campaign for a reference work comprised of large synthetic articles, as opposed to the dictionary-style entries encouraged by De Goeje. By soliciting articles in advance to present as an exemplary issue at the 1899 Rome congress, Houtsma effectively imposed his preferences on the encyclopedia, while at the same time making a fundraising tool available for the permanent committee's use. Had there been colleagues who were not convinced that Houtsma had the aptitude for managing the encyclopedia project, his decisiveness and speed in preparing

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second edition, when the Editorial Board appointed new members to its ranks; the rate of response was considerably less, however. See below, chapter two.

70. I. Goldziher to M. J. de Goeje, June 16, 1898: Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 1:240. His diary later makes mention of his having written "some articles for the Houtsma-Encyclopedia." Goldziher, *Tagebuch*, 268 (entry of August 25, 1911).

71. Kramers, "Wordingsgeschiedenis," 12.

72. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 1:241.

73. *Actes du douzième Congrès international des orientalistes, Rome 1899*, clxxxi. In a letter to De Goeje of June 11, 1898, before the appointment was even finalized, Houtsma initiated a discussion as to the desired result: "an improved D'Herbelot or (...) an improved Hughes or something completely different?" he asked, continuing, "I do have my own thoughts about this and that." Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 1:240 (ellipsis in original).

the exemplary issue would have erased their worries. Houtsma showed a pragmatic side as well; knowing he did not have the luxury of time, he did not wait for promised but still outstanding articles—"who knows when I can then begin," he wrote De Goeje.[74] The typescript of the model issue was submitted to E. J. Brill for typesetting at the beginning of 1899, and despite the publisher—in the person of Paul Herzsohn, according to Houtsma[75]—delaying its progress, the *Spécimen d'une encyclopédie musulmane par plusieurs orientalistes*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, was readied in time.

Houtsma and Herzsohn did not start off on a good footing. Perhaps under the impression that he himself would be chosen to succeed Goldziher, or at the least be consulted on the succession, Herzsohn did not warm to the appointment and seemed to have felt free to send criticisms of Houtsma to De Goeje, who passed them on. Houtsma was surprised, noting that Herzsohn did not mention anything of the kind during their June 1898 meeting. "Don't let him claim that he can't agree with my insights, because I'm prepared to leave him completely free to make the index as he wishes, provided he does it *quickly*, and subject to my right, should it in my opinion not be adequate, to improve it, which I shall justify before the Committee," he wrote De Goeje.[76] Their inability to work with each other ratcheted up a few notches over the course of their collaboration—on December 4, 1899, Houtsma informed De Goeje of his desire to hire someone who "will do what I tell him to"[77]—but Herzsohn continued to be involved until he resigned in 1906 and returned to Düsseldorf, and Houtsma did not find it necessary to address the difficult working relationship in his report on the genesis of the encyclopedia.[78]

The *Spécimen d'une encyclopédie musulmane*, which was meant to be handed out to the congress-goers, was Houtsma's initiative. He brought it up in a letter to De Goeje of July 17, 1898, only a month after he was asked to be editor. It could be used to attract funds but perhaps more importantly for Houtsma, it would be a way for him to put his stamp on the enterprise, "as much to give a more or less clear idea of what we are proposing as to show that it is no longer a project up in the air but a well-defined plan, ready to be

74. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:568n83.

75. "Naar het schijnt is Dr. Herzsohn daarvan [the delay] de oorzaak." Ibid., 2:569n87.

76. Ibid., 2:569n85. The "index" is the list of entries that Herzsohn was preparing. Herzsohn also criticized Goldziher for being secretive about the change in editorship. The bitterness he felt may have stemmed from their earlier confrontation (see n44, above) or he saw it as a new affront; either way Goldziher was not apologetic: he answered De Goeje that it was self-explanatory that he had not communicated the imminent change to Herzsohn before it had been decided upon and he could not understand Herzsohn's displeasure at this. Ibid., 2:569n86.

77. Ibid., 2:569n87.

78. Houtsma actually omits all mention of Herzsohn's work in his report, which might bespeak of his dislike of the man. It is not necessarily a sign of his being tactful since he felt free to disparage Herzsohn's successors in the same document (see below).

executed."[79] Therefore to test whether he had the backing of his colleagues, he requested of some that they choose their subject area and submit some articles to him in advance, which he then would have printed to get feedback from the field.[80] As mentioned above, although not all the colleagues from whom he requested an article "of their choice" came through—Snouck Hurgronje, Baron von Rosen, and Karabacek[81] are the ones specifically noted by Houtsma as negligent in a letter to De Goeje of December 12, 1898—enough did to be able to print forty articles in a booklet of thirty-one pages.[82] Houtsma even thought to include cross-references: there are two in the *Spécimen*, one of which (Aaron: v. Hārūn) does not lead to an article. Of the forty articles, fourteen must have been written by Houtsma himself; although no name accompanies them, they are in French, his language of choice, and are signed as stemming from R[éd]., or the editor, a practice that would endure in the encyclopedia proper. De Goeje contributed five, Van Vloten four, Goldziher, Thomas W. Arnold,[83] and Reynold Nicholson[84] two, and Socin, who died in June 1899 and was replaced on the permanent committee by Karl Vollers, wrote one. The other contributors with one apiece were V. V. Barthold, Max van Berchem, Ignazio Guidi, Martin Hartmann, Paul Horn, Clément Huart, G. Jacob, H. H. Juynboll, C. F. Seybold, and Karl Vollers.[85]

79. M. Th. Houtsma, ed., *Spécimen d'une encyclopédie musulmane par plusieurs orientalistes* (Leiden, 1899), 5. I am very grateful to Anna Livia Beelaert for her willingness to locate, scan the introduction, and describe the *Spécimen* to me before I had a chance to study it in person (it is both in Leiden and in the Harvard University Archives).

80. Kramers, "Wordingsgeschiedenis," 12: "En om al vast de proef te nemen, inhoever ik op de medewerking mijner vakgenooten zoude kunnen rekenen, richtte ik aanstonds tot een aantal hunner de vraag welke groep van artikelen zij eventueel voor hunne rekening zouden willen nemen en verzocht daarbij mij een of meer artikelen toe te zenden, die ik met medewerking van de firma Brill dacht onmiddelijk te laten drukken om op die wijze eene proeve van bewerking te kunnen geven en het oordeel der zaakkundigen daarover te vernemen."

81. Not actually mentioned by name, but "Weenen blijft voortdurend zwijgen" allows for little guesswork. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:568n83.

82. See appendix one for the full list of articles in the *Spécimen*.

83. Thomas Walker Arnold (1864–1930), who contributed "Bhopāl" and "Pānch Pīr," was Professor of Philosophy in Aligarh (1888–1898) and Lahore (1898–1904) before returning to London as assistant librarian in the India Office and other positions in government. After retirement as a civil servant, he was appointed Professor of Arabic at the newly established School of Oriental Studies. See Fück, *Arabischen Studien*, 284; Aurel Stein, *Thomas Walker Arnold, 1864–1930* (London, 1932); Katherine Watt, "Thomas Walker Arnold and the Re-Evaluation of Islam, 1864–1930," *Modern Asian Studies* 36 (2002), 1–98.

84. The philologist and scholar of mysticism Reynold A. Nicholson (1868–1945) taught Persian at Cambridge University, succeeding E. G. Browne as Sir Thomas Adams Professor of Arabic in 1926; he contributed "Shamsi Tabrīz" and a surprisingly scanty half-column on Rūmī. See his obituary by A. J. Arberry, in *JRAS* (1946), 91–92; and a longer portrait in idem, *Oriental Essays: Portraits of Seven Scholars* (London, 1960), 197–232.

85. With the exception of the Iranist and philologist Paul Horn, professor at Strasbourg, and the

The language in which the encyclopedia would be published was also still undecided and Houtsma chose therefore to print the articles that were submitted for the *Spécimen* in the language in which they were written. Twenty-one appeared in French, fifteen in German, and four in English. While most of the contributors wrote in their native language, the Dutch scholars alternated between German and French and the Italian Guidi wrote in French. Upon publication, it was agreed by all that the polyglot nature of the *Spécimen* would be cumbersome for the larger encyclopedia, but the struggle over which language would prevail was not decided so easily. As Houtsma recalls, the matter was exacerbated since, without his knowledge, the guarantee had been made—by De Goeje in one of his more entrepreneurial moments—to publish the encyclopedia in the language in which some of the contributors wrote.[86] In truth, the language question would not be resolved until 1905, when all parties agreed that the encyclopedia would be published in three different language editions simultaneously.

The path to this point was a thorny one, touching as it did on a matter of great sensitivity. Not only the contributors themselves, but their Academies, which were asked to fund the enterprise, set much store by their native language; it was as much a question of national honor, and ultimately of power, as it was of practicality. Previous attempts at regulating language had stranded in the face of such complex and diverging interests: the International Congresses, which opened in Paris in 1873, had proposed to circumvent the minefield by statutorily regulating the use of only two languages—French[87] and the language of the country in which the congress was held. By the time of the fifth congress (1881, Berlin), however, it had already been found necessary to adapt it on a case-by-case approach. There it was stipulated that the official language of the congress was German, but presentations could be given in French, English, Italian, and Latin as well; two years later in Leiden, the official language of the congress had expanded to three: Dutch,

Javanese scholar Hendrik Herman Juynboll, both of whom contributed little to the encyclopedia proper, all of these contributors have a biographical entry in Fück, *Arabischen Studien*, s.n. For Horn (1863–1908), see *EIr* 12, s.n (Erich Kettenhofen); and for Juynboll (1867–1945), see his obituary notice by Robert Heine-Geldem, in *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 5 (1946), 216. For Goldziher's correspondence with Martin Hartmann, see Ludmila Hanisch, ed., *"Machen Sie doch unseren Islam nicht gar zu schlecht?" Der Briefwechsel der Islamwissenschaftler Ignaz Goldziher und Martin Hartmann, 1894–1914* (Wiesbaden, 2000).

86. The undefined "some" comes from Houtsma, who wrote a bit bitterly, "It soon even appeared that without my knowledge some contributions were delivered and approved under the expresss condition that the Encyclopedia would appear in the language of the contributor." Kramers, "Wordingsgeschiedenis," 14. De Goeje was first and foremost a pragmatist, and recognizing that funds would not be forthcoming if the product was not in the language of the funding body, he guaranteed an own-language edition to sway the British and French Academies.

87. The International Congress of Orientalists was the brainchild of Léon de Rosny, Professor of Japanese at the École Speciale des Langues Orientales Vivantes in Paris, where the first congress was held, and as such it is no surprise that the primacy of the French language in all meetings would be considered self-evident.

French, and Latin, with presentations allowed also in German, English, and Italian.[88] The language statute was ultimately amended in 1897 to be more in line with practice, but still regulatory: "The Organising Committee has to select one or more languages which shall be the official languages of the Congress, and which will be employed in the issue of the Proceedings. The use of other languages in discussions will be optional, under the responsibility of the president of each section."[89]

As for the encyclopedia, the commercial element, identified and symbolized by E. J. Brill, had an unmistakable role to play in the question of language. From the beginning, the publisher had backed a German edition, to be followed—as an "extra" or "second" edition—by both a French and English version. Although E. J. Brill's costs were mainly production costs, and an "extra" edition would require typesetting and printing as would the original, the second language editions were nevertheless seen as profit-making upon the sales of just over one-half of the German print run.[90] Houtsma himself wanted the encyclopedia to be published only in French. In his recollection the decision to publish in three languages simultaneously came as an unpleasant surprise: "I thus suddenly saw my task tripled, because in place of one publication I now had three to edit."[91] His attempts at dissuading the supporters of this idea—it would require an index, much more time, much more money, and he had "only committed to edit one publication"—were unsuccessful. De Goeje also thought French the most practical solution, according to a letter he wrote Baron von Rosen as early as 1895, while at the same time recognizing that, when the funding of the project was at stake, practical solutions were not always the ones that won out. In his dealings behind the scenes, De Goeje kept his eye on the prize. With funds still outstanding, in 1905 he promised both the British and the French Academies that an edition in their respective languages would appear at the same time as the German if they guaranteed the necessary funding. This sealed the deal. Although it took quite a few years to get to this point, the possibility of a trilingual publication had been bandied about since at least 1899, when in the letter that accompa-

88. *Verhandlungen des fünften internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses, gehalten zu Berlin im September 1881* (Berlin, 1881), 1:12; *Actes du sixième Congrès international des orientalistes, tenu en 1883 à Leyde* (Leiden, 1884), 23. According to one attendee, by 1889 the language policy was out of control: "The languages used to enlighten the members and communicate ideas were French, English, German, and Italian: those that were used to bore the hearers were Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Chinese, and Japanese." At the same congress, the menu of the final banquet "was circulated in—19—nineteen languages [...]." R. N. Cust, "The Past and Future of the International Congesses of Orientalists," *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review and Oriental and Colonial Record*, 3rd ser., 4,7 (1897), 91, 92.

89. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:708–12 includes the 1873 and 1897 statutes.

90. A difference lay in the costs of honoraria for the editor, author, and proofreader, which for the German-language edition were estimated at ƒ570, or DM 950, but only ƒ160 (allotted for translator and proofreader) for the second-language edition, none of which was paid by the publisher to begin with.

91. Kramers, "Wordingsgeschiedenis," 14.

nied the *Spécimen*, which Houtsma himself drafted, it is noted that although the articles therein were in three separate languages, "the encyclopedia itself—it goes without saying—would be edited either in one of these languages or in all three at the same time."[92] With this preceding the eventual decision to indeed publish three versions of one encyclopedia, the conclusion might have been displeasing but cannot have been a complete surprise to Houtsma, who accepted it with the warning that "many and large difficulties" would come from it. With hindsight he added, "which indeed did not fail to happen."[93]

The inextricably linked and even more important question of funding had also to dance around national interests. Before Houtsma came on board, Goldziher and De Goeje had planned to use the first encyclopedia fascicule, or issue, as a fundraising tactic, but the *Spécimen* was an easier tool; it took less time to put together and still allowed a variety of articles to appear. Although the *Spécimen* was Houtsma's idea, he preferred that De Goeje be the one to invite the members of the permanent committee to contribute to it; he felt it was "inappropriate" for him to do so—the invitation had to come from one of their own colleagues on the committee.[94] Despite his having earned a seat on the permanent committee upon his formal appointment as editor more than six months previously, Houtsma himself saw the committee as a separate body, alongside of which he functioned. He also presumed, on the grounds of his stipulation, as we saw earlier, that the fundraising would be undertaken by this committee. Having consented—or taken upon himself—to draft the letter accompanying the *Spécimen*, Houtsma then preferred to have nothing more to do with it. He wrote De Goeje so, plainly and openly ("It would be very unpleasant for me if you were to send me the comments from the committee members, since I believe that I have nothing to do with this work, and the correcting (*redactie* [of the circular] can best be done by yourself alone"[95]); notwithstanding his aversion to being involved in the monetary aspect of the encyclopedia, Houtsma was forced to adjust the end of the letter, which in its final version openly asks for a total of FF 100,000, to accommodate comments made by De Goeje and Karabacek and prepare it for press.[96]

Despite all the hard work that went into it, the *Spécimen* and the accompanying letter were in the end not distributed at the 1899 congress in Rome; only Goldziher had a copy, which he presented.[97] Houtsma did not help his cause any by choosing not to attend

92. For the text of the circular, Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:717–18.

93. Kramers, "Wordingsgeschiedenis," 14.

94. "Intusschen schijnt het mij ongepast dat ik de heeren daartoe uitnoodig, daar het initiatief daartoe van henzelven als leden van het Comité behoort uit te gaan." M. Th. Houtsma to M. J. de Goeje, in Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:572n90.

95. Ibid., 2:571n90.

96. The letter is reproduced in its entirety in ibid., 2:717–18. One hundred thousand francs was a very large sum in 1899; as will be seen below, the subvention promised by the Académie des Inscriptions in 1905 was FF 1,000 and Herzsohn was paid an annual salary of FF 3,600.

97. Thus ibid., 1:244; 2:575n93 (where Van der Zande speculates that Goldziher did not read aloud the

the congress—for which he gave three different excuses to De Goeje all in one breath: he would be able to do little there, he did not feel very well, and he expected to have to give a second battery of exams once the semester started. The reason behind E. J. Brill's inability,[98] or refusal,[99] to have the work on hand at the congress can only be guessed at. Possibilities include simple unhappiness with the final result,[100] the realization that the required funding would far exceed the amount finally settled upon in the letter, or hope that negotiations to be started by Karabacek with the International Association of Academies would render the *Spécimen* unnecessary. The latter prospect in particular energized the permanent committee and gave hope for a quick resolution.

2. The International Association of Academies

Simultaneously with the Rome congress, on October 9, 1899, representatives from nine Academies gathered in Wiesbaden to formally establish an international union of research societies, known as the International Association of Academies. It was short-lived, falling prey to the vicissitudes of international relations upon the outbreak of World War I in 1914. During its short existence, however, it was a promising symbol of an institutional venture transcending national boundaries; its main purpose, as identified in article III.8 of its statutes, was "to initiate and otherwise to promote scientific undertakings of general interest, proposed by one or more of the associated Academies, and to facilitate

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part of the last sentence of his report that reads "par le fascicule spécimen qui vous est remis"). Despite the publisher's inability to have it available for the conference attendees in time, Houtsma writes in his report that Goldziher's copy was presented at Rome and favorably received ("door Goldziher [...] ter tafel werd gebracht en door de aanwezige leden welwillend werd ontvangen"). Kramers, "Wordingsgeschiedenis," 12. See also the minutes of the second session, Friday, October 6: "M. Goldziher lit son Rapport sur le projet d'une encyclopédie musulmane. Il présente aussi un spécimen de cette encyclopédie imprimé par la maison Stoppelaar (ancienne maison Brill de Leyde)." *Actes du douzième Congrès international des orientalistes, Rome 1899*, clxxviii.

98. In April 1899, three months after the final text had been submitted for printing and six months before the expected presentation, Houtsma complained to De Goeje, that "although Brill is incredibly slow with the printing of the proof-issue of the Encyclopedia, I still have hope that it will happen." Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 1:242.

99. According to Van der Zande ("Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:575n94), only after De Goeje intervened was the *Spécimen* sent, after the conference convened; Houtsma's letters to E. J. Brill in this regard were ignored. Nothwithstanding his having intervened, De Goeje himself wrote to Karabacek on November 1, 1899, that it was very questionable whether sending the *Spécimen* widely was desirable. It is conceivable, as Van der Zande also speculates, that De Goeje and Brill, for reasons of their own, banded together to try and keep the *Spécimen* under wraps.

100. In a letter to De Goeje on November 1, 1899, following the congress, Houtsma recognized that some might question the encyclopedia on the basis of the *Spécimen* ("ook al lokt het bij dezen en genen hier en daar bedenking uit'), but it was only intended to keep the idea of the encyclopedia warm and to get it started. To what extent the *Spécimen* was later distributed is not clear. Ibid., 2:575–76nn94, 96.

scientific intercourse between different countries."[101] For all practical purposes, the embryonic *Encyclopaedia of Islam* could find an institutional home here. A brief history of this institution is therefore interesting for the Weltanschauung of the period, and more than a little relevant for the encyclopedia.

Six years earlier, in January 1893, the Academies of Science of Vienna, Munich, Leipzig, and Göttingen formed a body (known as the "Kartell," the official name of which was "Der Verband wissenschaftlicher Körperschaften") with the aim of collaborating on scientific research with like-minded institutions.[102] The sharing of a common language, and perhaps common cultural ends, precipitated these particular Academies, although the path to formation was not always smooth. The Berlin Academy—founded in 1707 and the oldest of the German Academies—rebuffed the invitation, and would not join the conglomerate until six years later.

As reported in the journal *Nature*,[103] the Royal Society of London had been invited to two Kartell meetings that took place prior to the final one at Wiesbaden, "chiefly with the object of discussing the project of an international catalogue of scientific literature which the society has been engaged in promoting."[104] The first of these two meetings was held in Leipzig in 1897 and was attended by representatives from the Royal Society in an unofficial capacity; at the second meeting, held in Göttingen, the Royal Society representatives were given the express mandate from home to make their participation in the Kartell contigent on an enlargement of the Kartell's numbers.[105] There was little desire

101. Frank Greenaway, *Science International: A History of the International Council of Scientific Unions* (Cambridge, 1996), 11.

102. "Zu gemeinsamer Arbeit an allgemeineren wissenschaftlichen Unternehmungen." Academy of Science of Göttingen to the Royal Society of London, June 30, 1894, taken from Peter Alter, "The Royal Society and the International Association of Academies 1897–1919," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 34 (March 1980), 242. In the early planning stages, which revolved around finding financial support for a *Thesaurus linguae latinae*, conceived by Wilhelm Hartel, Professor of Classics in Vienna, and his Berlin colleague, Theodor Mommsen, the Academies in Rome and Paris would also be asked to take part in the collaborative body, but it was later agreed that it would be better to concentrate on "German" agreement ("wir zunächst zu versuchen haben, bei den deutschen eine Einigung herbeizuführen"). Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 1:199. For a blow-by-blow discussion of the years leading to the establishment of the Kartell, see Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," chap. 7. For a description of the European Academies of Science by country, see Xavier Heuschling, art. "Academies," in *Cyclopaedia of Political Science, Political Economy, and of the Political History of the United States*, vol. 1, ed. John J. Lalor (Chicago, 1882), 13–19.

103. The issue of *Nature* in which the report appeared (at p. 634) is dated October 26, 1899, which was a Thursday. The report was taken from "Monday's *Times*" (viz., October 23, 1899). Other journals included the same report from the London *Times*, e.g., *Science*, in its weekly issue of November 10, 1899.

104. See also Greenaway, *Science International*, 9, 253n33; Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 1:216–17. Alter, "Royal Society," 243 describes the proposed collaboration as "a geophysical research project."

105. Greenaway, *Science International*, 9; Alter, "Royal Society," 243.

on the part of the British to enter into a union with only the German and Austrian Academies. This would have been a politically inept maneuver in all likelihood.[106] At the Göttingen meeting, therefore, the Royal Society pressed for the inclusion of Academies from other nations, in particular France—which was a desideratum from the beginning, but was hampered, among other reasons, by still simmering tensions between the two nations after the Franco-Prussian War.[107] It was resolved that the delegates would go back to their respective Academies and, subject to their approval, the Royal Society would extend an invitation to the Academies in Paris, St. Petersburg, and Rome, while Göttingen would approach Berlin, to join an international association.[108]

The International Association of Academies was duly formed with nine member Academies; present at its foundational conference were delegates from all the abovementioned Academies (with the exception of the Accademia Nazionale Reale dei Lincei of Rome, which joined the following year) and the National Academy of Sciences in Washington, DC, invited at the instigation of the Vienna Academy.[109] To accommodate the humanities, included in all but the American and British Academies' scope, two sections were established: one, a section of natural science, and the other, a literary and philosophical section. This would eventually require the founding of a separate academy in both the U.K. and the U.S.A. By the summer of 1900 ten more Academies had joined, with the newly established British Academy for the Promotion of Historical, Philosophical and Philological Studies joining in 1902.[110] The first general meeting of the International Association of Academies convened in Paris in the week of April 16, 1901. There would be

106. Cf. Alter, "Royal Society," 244.

107. Greenaway, *Science International*, 9.

108. Thus in Alter, "Royal Society," 244. There seems to be some confusion concerning which Academy did the inviting: Greenaway, *Science International*, 9 has simply "the Cartel" would communicate with Berlin; Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 1:221 has Munich inviting Berlin, having taken over the Kartell leadership from Göttingen in January of 1899. As for Berlin's exact role, the London *Times* article (see n103, above) contends that Berlin, although not part of the Kartell, had participated in all the meetings, and it was the Royal Society and the Berlin Academy that jointly issued invitations to the Academies of Paris, Rome, St. Petersburg, and Washington, DC for the Wiesbaden constituent meeting. On the basis of Royal Society archival notes, Peter Alter maintains that acceptance by Paris was used to apply pressure on Berlin to also join and that Berlin was the last of the invited Academies to approve the international union. Alter, "Royal Society," 244. The final word might be that of Van der Zande ("Martinus Th. Houtsma," 1:210), who writes that the Berlin Academy voted initially against joining the Kartell but did agree, as a compromise measure, to participate on a case-by-case basis, which allowed Berlin to be present at all the Kartell meetings and still be the last to join the international body. Another confusion is perpetuated by Rexmond Canning Cochrane in his history, *The National Academy of Sciences: The First Hundred Years, 1863–1963*, who writes (p. 163) that the Wiesbaden constituent congress was organized by eighteen Academies.

109. Alter, "Royal Society," 245; but see the previous note.

110. The U.S. would not be represented in the literary section until 1914. Alter, "Royal Society," 251.

four more meetings; the sixth, to be held in Berlin in 1916, was not convened. In the end, the International Association of Academies did not survive the war. It was succeeded by another international body in January 1920, called the International Research Council, which until 1926, four years before its own dissolution, excluded the Central Powers.

Back at the 1899 Rome congress, Joseph von Karabacek—papyrologist, Professor of the History of the Orient at the University of Vienna, newly appointed director of the Hofbibliothek, and member of the Vienna Academy—had proposed that he plead the encyclopedia's case before the Kartell in the hope that it would be adopted by the Association.[111] Although the International Association of Academies would have no financial resources of its own,[112] it would offer cachet and authority. Swayed by Karabacek's enthusiasm, the members of the permanent committee present in Rome—Browne, Goldziher, Guidi, and De Stoppelaar—agreed. Goldziher notified De Goeje by letter that it was all but certain that the Association (which still had to be formed officially) would support the encyclopedia, while De Stoppelaar relayed to him his understanding of the next steps upon his return. Upon hearing two such optimistic reports, De Goeje promptly wrote Karabacek of his pleasure at hearing the good news and being relieved of the financial burden.

Despite the misunderstandings and the premature sighs of relief, Karabacek did receive the Kartell's support, at least of three of the four member academies. The Göttingen Academy, relying on the negative appraisal of Julius Wellhausen,[113] voted against the motion on grounds that editions of primary sources were more worthy of scarce funds than an encyclopedia.[114] Unanimity was not required, however, and the proposal was thereafter duly presented to the various committees involved in pushing the proposal through the hierarchy of the Association, to arrive unscathed at the opening meeting of the International Association of Academies in Paris, April 16–20, 1901. The minutes of this first meeting list as one of three agenda items for the Letters section a proposal

111. For Joseph von Karabacek (1845–1918), see Fück, *Arabischen Studien*, 254; obituary notice by C. H. Becker, in *Islamstudien*, 2:491–98. Although most sources dispense with the haček (Karabaček), see *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815-1950*, accessible online at www.biographien.ac.at/oebl_3/228.pdf (with thanks to Anna Livia Beelaert).

112. Alter, "Royal Society," 252.

113. For Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918), professor at Göttingen, biblical scholar, and historian, see Fück, *Arabischen Studien*, 223; obituary notice by C. H. Becker, in *Islamstudien*, 2:474–80; Rudolf Smend, *Julius Wellhausen: Ein Bahnbrecher in drei Disziplinen* (Munich, 2006); Josef van Ess, "From Wellhausen to Becker: The Emergence of *Kulturgeschichte* in Islamic Studies," in *Islamic Studies: A Tradition and Its Problems*, ed. Malcolm Kerr (Malibu, CA, 1980), 27–51; Mangold, *Eine "weltbürgerliche Wissenschaft"*, 107–8 and n527 for more references; Paret, *Arabistik und Islamkunde*, 15–17.

114. "Aus diesen Gründen [i.a. lack of critical editions and their eclectic presentation] scheint es rathsam, von dem Plan einer Realencyklopädie vorläufig abzusehen und dafür de Edition der Quellen [...] und die Unterstützung derselben um so eifriger zu betreiben." Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:579n97.

brought by Leipzig, Munich, and Vienna, accompanied by a *mémoire* by Karabacek, for the publication of a Real-Encyklopädie des Islam.[115]

The mémoire was the slightly revised *Plan, betreffend die Herausgabe einer Realencyklopädie des Islâm*, which Karabacek had drafted with Goldziher's help for the original Kartell meeting.[116] It repeated the history of the project from 1892; described comparable encyclopedia works as out of date, uncritical, and limited; and sketched the proposed encyclopedia as multifaceted: to serve the purposes of a general reference work, of an informational guide for practical aspects about Muslim countries, especially as far as the present-day situation was concerned, and of an authoritative reference for the nonspecialist. It would achieve this objective through a broad choice of entries, well-chosen bibliographical references, and illustrations and maps. In practical terms, the encyclopedia would consist of three volumes and be printed by E. J. Brill, which would underwrite the cost of printing. Subsidies, to the tune of 80,000 krone,[117] would be found for the ten years the encyclopedia was expected to take, to pay editorial costs, etc., and a committee made up of the members of the Association, but headed by De Goeje, for continuity's sake, would be formed, to succeed the permanent committee now in place.[118]

The proposal met opposition at this meeting not from Göttingen but from Berlin, in the person of Eduard Sachau.[119] Berlin's position was that an encyclopedia was a commercial work, a publisher's project, not the original scholarship that the academies should be supporting. A spirited discussion followed. In the end, Berlin and Göttingen voted against, the remaining academies voted for. De Goeje was appointed chair of the new supervisory committee and Houtsma was confirmed as editor.[120] In addition to the gas-

115. "Bericht über die erste allgemeine Versammlung der Internationalen Association der Akademien, gehalten zu Paris, 16. bis 20. April d.J.," *Anzeiger der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 27 (1901), Beilage 2.

116. Goldziher's diary entry of 12 April 1900 notes his help: "Correspondenz mit Karabacek über die Übernahme der Encyklopädie durch die Vereinigten Akademien. Ich redigire für K. den durch ihn bei der Wiener Akademie zu stellenden Antrag." Goldziher, *Tagebuch*, 227.

117. For some idea of the krone's value in 1901, a laborer earned 2.97 a day.

118. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 1:246–47. A copy of the *Plan* is in the archives of the Koninkljke Nederlandse Academie van Wetenschappen (KNAW) in Amsterdam.

119. See n40, above.

120. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 1:246–47. For the Berlin position, ibid., 2:579–81n100. In a letter to Nöldeke of May 1, De Goeje tells him of the Paris meeting, which he "did not regret attending." The objections of the Berlin Academy "amounted to the matter—however useful and important it was—being realizable without the help of the academies, through booksellers." After apprising Nöldeke that he was appointed chair of the supervisory committee, De Goeje noted that "in this capacity I will receive the announcement of the money made available by the various academies. I asked Amsterdam for ƒ500 and hope to receive it." M. J. de Goeje to Th. Nöldeke, May 1, 1901. That amount seems paltry given the budget of 80,000 krone, which came to approximately 93,965 marks or ƒ55,439—at 1 guilder to 1.69 mark (Markus A. Denzel, *Handbook of World Exchange Rates, 1590–1914* [Surrey, UK, 2010], 244). Van

tronomic delights of Paris, the meeting's participants were given a trip to Chantilly, an evening at the theatre, and a session at the French Academy.[121] Karabacek had achieved his goal, although there was no money—still the missing factor—to show for it.

3. The Preparatory Stage, 1901–1908

The new supervisory committee was made up of nine academicians, some of them recurring figures in the encyclopedia's fortunes: De Goeje (Amsterdam), Chauvin (Brussels), Goldziher (Budapest), Frants Buhl (Copenhagen), August Fischer (Leipzig), Adrien Barbier de Meynard (Paris), Rosen (St. Petersburg), Guidi (Rome), and Karabacek (Vienna).[122] It was agreed that De Goeje, Goldziher, and Karabacek would draft the statutes; when Karabacek, who had been designated the first draftee, failed to come through, Goldziher spent some of his holiday on the northern North Sea island of Norderney writing the first draft, which he sent to De Goeje in August 1901.[123] After consulting with De Stoppelaar and Houtsma and revising it somewhat, De Goeje sent it on to Karabacek for approval, after which it would be printed by E. J. Brill and used inter alia for funding purposes. Momentum in the encyclopedia's realization was picking up.

For an inexplicable reason—laziness, opined Goldziher ten months later[124]—Karabacek did not answer. Even a letter to his wife at the end of December did not produce a reply from him. The momentum came to a brusque stop. Progress concerning the encyclopedia is next found in the proceedings of the Thirteenth International Congress, which met in Hamburg in September 1902 and where there is mention of the Islam Section adopting a resolution, proposed by De Goeje, that the mandate of the committee established earlier in Paris and Rome be passed on to the committee newly established

der Zande ("Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:586n115) writes that De Goeje requested a subsidy of "10x ƒ500" on April 27, 1901.

121. De Goeje to Nöldeke, May 1, 1901.

122. Kramers, "Wordingsgeschiedenis," 12–13n3. Van der Zande ("Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:582n106) lists Paul Fredericq and Sergey Oldenburg instead of Chauvin and Baron von Rosen from their respective Academies. Since neither Fredericq (historian of medieval Flanders) nor Oldenburg (Indologist) was a scholar of Islam, it is possible that they were merely standing in for the Islamicists who had not attended the meeting. In 1902, when the British Academy was founded and England could be represented in the Letters section, E. G. Browne was appointed a member of the supervisory committee.

123. Goldziher's only mention in his diary of his involvement is in his one entry for 1901, where he notes his being delegated by the Budapest academy to attend the Association's general assembly meeting in April, his enjoyment of effusive honors "in all circles," and his hasty return to make a "Concept" for the Jewish community, which considered his assumption of this mission to be a violation of his duties at home. Goldziher, *Tagebuch*, 230.

124. In a letter of June 1902 to De Goeje, cf. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:583n111.

by the Association of Academies in light of the latter having taken the encyclopedia under its aegis.[125] Two months later De Goeje informed Nöldeke, who also attended the Hamburg congress, of his having drafted the circular to ask for funds from the academies, which he would soon be sending.[126] The statutes came from Brill's presses in November as well.[127]

In 1902 the budget had been increased from 80,000 krone to 140,000–150,000 German marks, an increase of approximately 39,000 krone, or fifty percent.[128] The instructions that De Goeje sent in his circular to the academies detailed that a sum should be pledged, one-tenth of which should be sent each year to cover expenses. Monies did begin to come in. The first to pledge were St. Petersburg (10x 1,000 German marks), Budapest (10x 1,000 krone), Leipzig, and Madrid. The amounts that Leipzig and Madrid sent were modest, according to Van der Zande. London pledged an annual amount of £200 from 1905 on, which put the total amount of the equivalent of £170, received till then yearly from the academies of Amsterdam, Leipzig, Budapest, St. Petersburg, and Madrid, to shame. Vienna also pledged only from 1905, originally for 3x 2,500 krone.[129] Others that came through over the years, as recorded by Houtsma, were the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, the academies of Munich and Copenhagen, the Reale Accademia dei Lincei of Rome, the Lisbon Academy, the Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie, the Dutch colonial government, the Italian government, the Nederlandsche Handelmaatschappij in Amsterdam, the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft, the Senat und Bürgerschaft of Hamburg, the Egyptian government, the Johns Hopkins University, the Theological Seminary at Hartford, Mr. C. R. Crane of Chicago,[130] the French Ministry for Education, and the American Oriental Society, as well as the American Com-

125. *Verhandlungen des XIII. internationalen Orientalisten-Kongress, Hamburg September 1902* (Leiden, 1904), 320.

126. "Mijne circulaire aan de Akademies om subsidies voor de Encycl. v. d. Islam gaat eerstdaags in zee." M. J. de Goeje to Nöldeke, November 22, 1902.

127. *Règlement pour les travaux de la Commission de Surveillance de l'Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, dated November 1902. The statutes are kept in the KNAW archives in Amsterdam. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:585n113.

128. Kramers, "Wordingsgeschiedenis," 13.

129. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:586n115.

130. Charles Richard Crane (1858–1939), plumbing magnate, president of Crane Co. till 1914, and director of the National Bank of the Republic, graced the cover of *Time* of March 9, 1931. He is described in the first volume of *Who's Who in Finance, Banking and Insurance* as "manufacturer, capitalist," and is also recorded as having contributed inter alia $10,000 toward a lectureship in Russian Literature and History at the University of Chicago in 1900 (*University of Chicago Record*, vol. 4, 263). Three boxes of his papers are in Columbia University's collection. Crane pledged, and paid, 5,000 francs for five years, beginning in 1911, and was acquitted of his promise by Snouck Hurgronje in a letter of August 24, 1916, addressed to Crane's private secretary, Roger H. Williams. Leiden University Library, Or. 18.099, Ar. 4913. For more on Crane, see *Illinois Biographical Dictionary* (Hamburg, MI, 2008), 1:204–6; Leo J. Bocage, "The Public Career

mittee for Lectures on the History of Religions and the Résidence Générale du Maroc. The amounts were varied: some were one-time only and some were sent from 1906 on, even in 1910, 1911, or 1912.[131]

Despite the promising start, the financial situation was still very precarious six years later, as Snouck Hurgronje (fig. 6), whom De Goeje on his deathbed begged to take over the chairmanship of the supervisory committee, makes clear in his letter to Goldziher of December 24, 1908 ("The promised contributions arrive *very* irregularly").[132] According to Snouck Hurgronje, the Hungarian Academy had sent only 3,000 krone of its subsidy pledged in 1903—in the years 1904, 1906, and 1908—and he prevailed upon Goldziher to arrange for a more regular payment of the remaining 7,000 krone. He noted that it was not just Hungary that was in arrears, other institutions had contributed only one instalment or none at all.[133] He repeated his worries to Nöldeke in a letter of March 6, 1909 ("The amounts that we have at present are completely inadequate, but mostly they are not guaranteed for long enough").[134] The encyclopedia drove Snouck Hurgronje to considerable and sometimes lengthy grousing,[135] but slowly but surely it took shape.

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of Charles R. Crane" (Ph.D. diss., Fordham University, 1962) (not seen); D. van der Meulen, *Don't You Hear the Thunder? A Dutchman's Life Story* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981), 91–93.

131. Kramers, "Wordingsgeschiedenis," 13.

132. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936), De Goeje's student and successor as professor at Leiden University. For his career, see Fück, *Arabischen Studien*, 231–33; Joseph Schacht's obituary notice, in *Der Islam* (1937), 192–95; P. Sj. van Koningsveld, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam: Acht artikelen over leven en werk van een oriëntalist uit het koloniale tijdperk* (Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid, n.d. [1987]); J. Brugman, "Snouck Hurgronje's Study of Islamic Law," in Otterspeer, *Leiden Oriental Collections*, 81–93. A summary of biographies or biographical sketches written about him is in *Oostersch Instituut Jaarverslagen 1934–1940* (IV) (Leiden, 1941), 16–21; and his letters to colleagues have been collected by P. Sj. van Koningsveld in *Orientalism and Islam*; *Scholarship and Friendship*; and *Minor German Correspondences of C. Snouck Hurgronje from Libraries in France, Germany, Sweden and The Netherlands* (Leiden, 1987). To settle once and for all the confusion with regard to his name: his last name is a double one, Snouck Hurgronje (and should be thus indexed under the S); per Dutch convention of dropping the last component, he will also be called just Snouck at times.

133. "Die Ungarische Akademie versprach in ihrer Zuschrift von 3/3 03 auf zehn Jahre (1903–12) jährlich 1000 Kronen, sandte aber bis jetzt bloss 29/2 1904, 22/1 1906 und 4/2 1908 je 1000 Kronen. Bitte, erkundige dich einmal wegen dieser Abweichung von der Verabredung und erwirke uns die regelmässige Auszahlung der übrigen 7000 Kr. in jährlichen Quoten.- Leider ist nicht bloss die Ungar. Akademie so im Rückstande, es gibt Institute, die nur einmal oder auch gar nicht die versprochene Quote schickten." Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and Friendship*, 282.

134. Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam*, 145.

135. Of the many examples, e.g., "I will try to emulate De Goeje's patience and perseverance, but it is difficult, especially since I had no part in the catastrophic scheme [to publish the encyclopedia in three languages simultaneously]. And then there are the committee members Karabacek, who confounds everything with his pathological indolence, and Goldziher, who is too nervous to arrange matters." Letter to Nöldeke of December 20, 1909. Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam*, 155.

In addition to the language question, which, as mentioned above, was resolved behind the scenes when in 1905 De Goeje promised the British and French academies an edition in their respective language in order to coax funds from them, to the continued dislike of Houtsma and Snouck Hurgronje, among others, whose preference was for French only, there was the matter of what method of orthography to choose. According to Houtsma, he made quick work of this by proposing that the transliteration method presented and approved at the Geneva meeting of 1894 be used.[136] At that time a committee had been set up, as proposed by Lord Reay, president of the Royal Asiatic Society in London, to recommend a transliteration system. The committee was composed of nine members: Socin, Barbier de Meynard, De Goeje, Plunkett, Lyon, Bühler, Senart, Windisch, and De Saussure.[137] The committee took little time to come to a conclusion and presented its report at the meeting; its proposed system was published in the proceedings.[138]

As compensation for the decision to publish in three languages, in 1906 two language editors were appointed to assist Houtsma. The idea of subeditors had brewed for some time; as far back as 1897 Goldziher had tried to recruit some to help prepare the list of entries.[139] The statutes drawn up in 1902 made mention of a supervisory editorial board, composed of five members of the supervisory committee who would be responsible for each of five groups into which the encyclopedia's content would be divided, but this was never established. The statutes also called for an editor to be responsible for the list of entries and the proofs. This position fell to Herzsohn, whose salary was then paid from encyclopedia funds.[140] In 1906, at the age of sixty-four, Herzsohn announced his

136. Kramers, "Wordingsgeschiedenis," 13. This was one of the very few meetings that Houtsma attended.

137. *Actes du dixième Congrès international des orientalistes, Session de Genève, 1894*, 76. Of the three De Saussures attending the 1894 congress, the most likely to have taken a seat on the transliteration committee was Ferdinand (1857–1913), linguist and Professor of Indo-European Languages at the University of Geneva.

138. Ibid., Part One, 130. Although there is a presentation in the second part of the *Actes*, entitled "The Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets" by James Burgess (1832–1916), Indologist and professor at the University of Edinburgh, this does not seem to be the committee's report as purported to have been included. Burgess was not a member of the committee and the fact that he strongly rejected the transliteration of /ḳ/ for *qāf* ("For the very deep guttural *qāf*, as in 'Qorān', the letter *q*, not otherwise required, is the best of all representatives: to use *ḳ*, with the dot appropriated to the linguals, is altogether unjustifiable on any grounds") would seem to clinch the matter. Ibid., Part Two, 27–38, esp. 38.

139. Emblematic of the entire exercise was the search for an editor for the Indian subcontinent: Goldziher approached T. W. Arnold (see n83, above) to assist with entries; Arnold did draft a preliminary list but after returning from India to England, he proposed Henry Beveridge (1837–1929) as his successor, which came to naught. After Sayyid Ali Bilgrami—recommended by A. A. Bevan—also fell through, E. Denison Ross (1871–1940), first director of the School of Oriental Studies, was appointed in 1906 as the editor for India; again nothing came of it. In 1907 Houtsma wrote to De Goeje that Ross "was as silent as the grave." Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:592n136.

140. Ibid., 1:252. Beginning January 1, 1903, he was paid 3,600 francs a year from the supervisory com-

retirement, and Houtsma jumped to replace him. He had for a time been leaning on his student Arent Jan Wensinck[141] to make up for the underachieving Herzsohn, but Wensinck (fig. 7) had left Utrecht in 1904 to earn his doctorate in Leiden. Ever resourceful, De Goeje wrote a postcard to Nöldeke to ask his opinion whether Abraham Yahuda, whom Nöldeke knew personally, would be the right man to take Herzsohn's place.[142] "Besides Arabic he should know some Persian and Turkish, as well as have some general knowledge of Eastern history."[143] Nöldeke answered in the affirmative, lauding Yahuda's speaking German like a native after only two years, having not known a single word when he arrived from Jerusalem. If he didn't have much Persian or Turkish, Nöldeke had no doubt he would learn it in no time. He cautioned that he was a bit of a dilettante, but reiterated that he was very talented and learned. Then again, would a less talented but pedantically more precise person not be better suited to the position, Nöldeke asked.[144] It would seem that Houtsma was of the same ambivalent mind for progress on the Yahuda front did not develop. Instead, two candidates were chosen, "to speed things up," as De Goeje put it.[145]

The first, Max Seligsohn, was recommended to Houtsma by Hartwig Derenbourg, professor at the École des Hautes Études in Paris. In 1906 Seligsohn was forty-one years

mittee's funds. Ibid., 2:596n142. Houtsma also was accorded a salary, of 2,400 francs a year, which he, however, never collected. De Goeje disagreed with this principled stance. Ibid., 2:586n113.

141. Arent Jan Wensinck (1882–1939), Semitist and Arabist, studied in Utrecht with Houtsma and in Leiden under De Goeje and Snouck Hurgronje. He completed his doctoral studies in 1908 with a dissertation entitled *Mohammed en de Joden in Medina*. In 1927 he would succeed Snouck Hurgronje as professor of Arabic, Syriac, and Islamic Studies in Leiden. As an Arabist he is best known for his monumental *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, finished posthumously in 1969. Fück, *Arabischen Studien*, 326; obituary notices by J. Huizinga, in *Jaarboek der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1939–1940* (Amsterdam, 1940), 215–24, and J. Pedersen, in *Acta Orientalia* 18 (1940), 161–63; see also Otterspeer, *Leiden Oriental Collections*, 57–60, 103–5. For recollections (by J. van Eysinga) of Wensinck as President (Rector Magnificus) of Leiden University, which position he held for one year in 1927, and as professor by his student W. C. van Unnik, see *Oostersch Instituut Jaarverslagen 1934–1940*, 22–25.

142. Abraham Shalom Yahuda (1877–1951), a self-schooled polymath and manuscript collector, was born in Jerusalem, taught in Berlin, Madrid, and, upon emigrating to the United States in 1940, at the New School for Social Research in New York City. Reeva Simon et al., eds., *The Jews of the Middle East and North Africa in Modern Times* (New York, 2003), 86–87.

143. M. J. de Goeje to Nöldeke, January 22, 1906.

144. "In Jerusalem aufgewachsen, kam er ohne Kenntniss des Deutschen nach Frankfurt und als er davon nach etwas über 2 Jahren nach Strassb. kam, sprach u. schrieb er das Deutsche wie ein gebildeter geborner Deutscher ohne den geringsten Anstoss. [...] Wie weit er türkisch u. persisch kann, weiss ich nicht, doch zweifle ich nicht daran dass er namentlich von Türk. ziemlich was versteht und noch weniger daran dass er in kurzer Zeit das, was ihm etwa fehlen sollte, sich aneignen würde. [...] Ein bischen zeigt er sich eben als Dilettant. Aber wie gesagt, höchst begabt und recht gelehrt. Ob nun aber ja einer solchen Stelle ein minder begabter, aber etwas pedantisch vorsichtiger Mensch nicht geeignet [?] ist?" Th. Nöldeke to M. J. de Goeje, January 24, 1906.

145. M. J. de Goeje to Th. Nöldeke, May 15, 1906.

old and had spent the last four years in New York City as an in-house editor of *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*. Russian-born, he had left after rabbinical training in Slutsk (now in Belarus) for the United States in 1888, in his early twenties, to study modern languages. From there he went to Paris to study Semitic languages and after a sojourn in Cairo where he taught for eighteen months, he returned to New York.[146] His encyclopedia experience seemed ideal to Houtsma, who was nevertheless hesitant because of a scathing review that Nöldeke had published of Seligsohn's translation into French of the *Dīwān* of Ṭarafa, a pre-Islamic poet, and because he did not know whether Seligsohn knew any German. Perhaps because of the latter question, a second candidate, Arthur Schaade, was also appointed, with responsibility for translation to and from German. Schaade was the result of an advertisement that Houtsma had placed in the *Literarisches Zentralblatt* of February 1906, which was read by August Fischer, Schaade's professor. Schaade was all of twenty-three and had just completed his dissertation under Fischer, "Die Kommentare des Suhailī und des Abū Ḏarr zu den Uḥud-Gedichten in der Sīra des Ibn Hišām," when he took up residence in Leiden to begin his work on the encyclopedia.[147]

Neither assistant would stay long, but each had a different experience to recount. Schaade would leave Leiden in 1910 to complete his Habilitation[148] with Franz Praetorius in Breslau, having used his time in Leiden wisely for his later career in academe. He became well acquainted with Snouck Hurgronje, Th. W. Juynboll, whose *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche wet* he would help translate into German,[149] and Cornelis van Arendonk, a young student who would later also leave his mark on the encyclopedia.[150] Having taught Arabic for one year at Leiden University, he then taught Semitic

146. Seligsohn earned a brief entry in *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, 11:169; the same one appears in S. Wininger, *Grosse Jüdische National-Biographie* (Czernowitz, 1925–1936), 5:499. He was an adherent of the more secular Jewish community, and was described by Solomon Schechter, then President of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America and founder of American Conservative Judaism, as "belong[ing] to the Maskilim of the most objectionable type." Schechter to Judge Mayer Sulzberger, March 6, 1906, in Meir Ben-Horin, "Solomon Schechter to Judge Mayer Sulzberger: Part II. Letters from the Seminary Period (1902–1915)," *Jewish Social Studies* 27 (1965), 89.

147. For Arthur Schaade (1883–1952), see the obituary notice by Albert Dietrich, in *Der Islam* 31 (1954), 69–75; Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:594n141.

148. *Sībawaihi's Lautlehre*, published by E. J. Brill in 1911.

149. Theodoor Willem Juynboll (1866–1948) earned his doctorate at Leiden in 1893 with a dissertation on security according to the Shāfiʿī school of law (*De hoofdregelen der Sjafi'itischer leer van het pandrecht met een onderzoek naar haar ontstaan en naar haren invloed in Nederlandsch-Indië*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1893). Thereafter he was appointed professor at Leiden University and later succeeded Houtsma in Utrecht. Fück, *Arabischen Studien*, 325; S. Pompe, "A Short Review of Doctoral Theses on the Netherlands-Indies Accepted at the Faculty of Law of Leiden University in the Period 1850–1940," *Indonesia* 56 (1993), 67–98. The German translation was published as *Handbuch der islamischen Gesetzes* by E. J. Brill and Otto Harrassowitz, in Leipzig.

150. Cornelis van Arendonk (1881–1946) came to Leiden after Utrecht, where he studied Hebrew with

languages, Persian, and Turkish as Privatdozent, leaving for Egypt in 1913 to take up the post of director of the Egyptian National Library, which position was traditionally a prerogative of German scholars.[151] The outbreak of the First World War, however, rendered that a short-lived post, for nine months later Schaade was removed by the British who saw in him "an enemy alien."[152] He would return to Cairo and the library directorship in 1930 on leave from his position as Professor of Semitic Studies in Hamburg, where he was appointed in 1919, and himself be succeeded there by Joseph Schacht in 1934.[153] Schaade enjoyed the praise and goodwill of all he met.

Seligsohn, on the other hand, had a bumpy ride in Leiden. His specific task was to translate texts into English and French, but with the publication of the first fascicule in 1908, there was a deluge of protests. The British suggested that Brill hire an "English expert" to avoid such mistakes of translation; the French proposed that a special committee, underwritten by E. J. Brill, be set up in Paris to check all articles translated into French.[154] In addition, Houtsma complained, Seligsohn had limited bibliographical knowledge, wrote articles that were more rote than scholarly, had a nervous personality,[155] and was generally unmanageable, and, he warned, one of them would not survive the relationship.[156] Indeed, in no time working relations were very strained. According to a letter from Snouck Hurgronje to Goldziher of March 21, 1909, Seligsohn quarreled with Houtsma,

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Houtsma, to further his interest in Islam. He earned his doctorate in 1919 and shortly thereafter began working on the encyclopedia. For his career, see the obituary notice by J. H. Kramers, in *Jaarboek der Koninklijke Akademie der Wetenschappen, 1946–1947*, 145–49 (included also in J. H. Kramers, *Analecta Orientalia: Posthumous Writings and Selected Works*, vol. 2 [Leiden, 1956], 324–27). According to Kramers, Van Arendonk held himself and his fellow assistant editors to such high standards of painstakingness and erudition that "actual progress on the encyclopedia was impeded" (p. 148).

151. Charles Wendell, *The Evolution of the Egyptian National Image: From Its Origins to Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid* (Berkeley, 1972), 218n50.

152. Dietrich, "Arthur Schaade," 70; Donald Malcolm Reid, *Cairo University and the Making of Modern Egypt* (Cambridge, 1990), 40; idem, "Cairo University and the Orientalists," *IJMES* 19 (1987), 55.

153. Dietrich, "Arthur Schaade," 71.

154. The British suggestion was made by Charles Lyall (1845–1920) of the India Office, whose concern was more with the possibility of insulting Muslim sensitivities than with faulty translation; see below. The French proposal came from Emile Sénart (1847–1928), Indologist at Paris and president of the Société Asiatique from 1908–1928. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 1:254. The translations into French before the advent of René Basset (see below) were pronounced in a review of fascicules 27–34, published 1924–27, to have been "en petit nègre" (pidgin French): J. Calès, in *Etudes: Revue catholique d'intérêt général* 195 (20 avril 1928).

155. Thus to De Goeje, in a letter of February 20, 1907. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:596n143.

156. Thus to Snouck Hurgronje, at the end of 1908: "Ik voorzie echter bij de onhandelbaarheid van dien zenuwlijder, dat samenwerking op den duur onmogelijk zal blijken en of ik, of hij zijn congé zal moeten nemen." Ibid., 2:596n143. Snouck himself described Seligsohn's nervousness as morbid ("kränklichen Nervosität"). Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and Friendship*, 293.

Schaade, Wensinck, and various contributors about editorial matters and wrote Houtsma a number of letters of which the description "offensive" would be too mild; French contributors refused to deal with him any longer, on account of his incompetence, ignorance of French, and rudeness; and repeated objections came from England and America regarding the faulty English translation, even though Seligsohn had described himself as particularly competent in this.[157] After a flurry of letters from Houtsma to Snouck Hurgronje with suggestions how to go about it, Seligsohn was let go as of July 1, 1909.[158] In September of that same year he published with St. Catherine Press in Bruges an abrasive pamphlet of twenty-three pages on the first fascicule of the encyclopedia, subtitled "Examen critique des quelques feuilles imprimées jusqu'à présent, donnant les raisons de la lenteur apportée à la publication et de la rédaction défectueuse," and then he seems to have disappeared from the historical record.[159]

Meanwhile, De Goeje was dying. His good friend De Stoppelaar at E. J. Brill had predeceased him in June 1906 and perhaps had not seen the fruit of the encyclopedia's preparations,[160] but De Goeje was planning on presenting the first encyclopedia fascicule at the meeting of the International Assocation of Academies in Vienna at the end of May 1907, which he attended in good health.[161] After his return he fell ill. In the winter he

157. Ibid., 297–98. Snouck mentions the American Duncan B. Macdonald as being one of the loudest critics of Seligsohn's ineptness in translation. Ibid., 294.

158. M. Th. Houtsma to C. Snouck Hurgronje of December 26, 1908, February 11, 1909, February 15, 1909, February 19, 1909, and March 19, 1909. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:602n153. Houtsma urged Snouck Hurgronje to use the unstable financial circumstances of the encyclopedia as excuse rather than the unhealthy working relationship between Seligsohn and everyone else, and to give Seligsohn time to find a new position. Ibid., 1:255, 2:596n143. Snouck Hurgronje asked Goldziher whether in the event Seligsohn did not find a new position within three months and Goldziher found it in himself to exercise compassion (using the Arabic *raḥma*), they should put aside some money for him. Snouck Hurgronje would contribute to the pot, but keeping Seligsohn on was completely unacceptable. Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and Friendship*, 299.

159. Widener Library at Harvard is the lucky owner of this pamphlet, apparently sent by its author upon publication. It is date-stamped January 22, 1910. Since the pamphlet is rare, fragile, and an enjoyable read (if one likes one's vitriol undiluted), I have translated it and reproduce it in appendix two. Where Seligsohn quotes from the encyclopedia text, I have taken it directly from the first edition, which offers a glimpse into his slightly irregular English, recorded for posterity. His unabashed critique of the German editor's work has an iota of support in a letter of May 28, 1950, sent to J. H. Kramers (on whom, see chapter two, below) by Schaade himself, in which he notes some errata for when or if a German version of the second edition is published.

160. De Goeje announced in a letter to Baron von Rosen in May 1906 that the first fascicule had been printed ("Die erste Lieferung ist jetzt gedruckt") (Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:599n149), which is quite early if the fascicule was not put on the market until 1908 (see next note). It is possible that the fascicule of which De Goeje spoke was just one of the three language editions.

161. "De eerste aflevering in drie talen zal ik daar voorleggen." M. J. de Goeje to Nöldeke, May 22, 1907. Houtsma remembers that the first fascicule appeared in 1908 (Kramers, "Wordingsgeschiedenis,"

was still ailing, according to Snouck Hurgronje in letters written to Nöldeke and Goldziher. He did not attend meetings or gatherings he normally enjoyed going to, often skipped his regular morning walk, was listless, slept badly, coughed.[162] His days were numbered.[163] In August of 1908, De Goeje missed his first International Congress of Orientalists, held in Copenhagen. As president of the session Goldziher noted his absence due to poor health and Cornelis Peltenburg of E. J. Brill, who presented the first fascicule, was asked to extend to De Goeje the section's deepest regrets.[164] Houtsma again did not attend the meeting.

In October 1908 De Goeje called Snouck Hurgronje to his bedside and asked him to take over his position on the supervisory committee and to replace him as delegate of the Dutch Academy. Snouck agreed, whereupon De Goeje had his niece, who was caring for him since his wife's death in 1900, apprise Goldziher and ask him to make the necessary arrangements. Letters between Goldziher and Karabacek show that this eventuality had been discussed between them at the Copenhagen conference. Despite this preparedness, however, and despite Karabacek writing Goldziher in mid-September in support of the proposed succession, Karabacek dithered in sending his official support. Snouck complained bitterly to Goldziher at the end of December at the delay, for he was eager to take over and resolve some of the financial problems.[165] Over the next few months De Goeje's

14; cf. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:599n149). Van der Zande assumes that the later publication was the market edition because of the supporting evidence of the earlier presentation—to which can be added the announcement in *Science* of July 12, 1907 (p. 59) that "the first section in three languages" was laid before the IAA meeting of May 1907 in Vienna. In his diary, Goldziher notes for the entry May 27–June 2, 1907, simply that he attended the "Generalversammlung" of the Association as delegate, but makes no mention of the encyclopedia or of any presentation. Goldziher, *Tagebuch*, 251. From announcements of the first or of early fascicules we learn that the subscription price was 3,50 German marks (3,75 French francs) per fascicule, each of which contained 4 sheets in "Lexikon-Oktav" (64 pp. of 27.5 x 22 cm, or approx. U.S. letter size). Forty-five fascicules, or three volumes, were expected, with completion in 1920. *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients*, vol. 7 (Halle a. S, 1909), 134–35; *Bulletin de l'Institut Solvay* 23 (1910–1914), 1183–84.

162. "De Goeje blijft sukkelen; hij komt in den laatsten tijd zoo weinig mogelijk in vergaderingen of bijeenkomsten, die hij anders gaarne bezoekt, verzuimt vaak zijn traditioneele morgenwandeling, is lusteloos, slaapt slecht, hoest enz." Letter to Nöldeke, February 28, 1908. Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam*, 134.

163. "[U]nd seine Tage sind gezählt." Letter to Goldziher, April 14, 1908. Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and Friendship*, 271.

164. *Actes du quinzième Congrès international des orientalistes, session de Copenhague, 1908* (Copenhagen, 1909), 67–68. Cornelis Peltenburg (1853–1934) became co-director of the publishing house in 1899, and sole director after De Stoppelaar's death in 1906 (Van Oordt had died in 1903) until mid-1934. See Sytze van der Veen, *Brill: 325 jaar uitgeven voor de wetenschap* (Leiden, 2008; trans. into English as *Brill: 325 Years of Scholarly Publishing*), 91–100. See also the obituary notice by F. C. Wieder, in *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* (Leiden, 1935), 174–78, accessible online at www.dbnl.org.

165. Letter to Goldziher, December 24, 1908. Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and Friendship*, 280–83. Snouck Hurgronje's official appointment as provisional committee president would finally go through

health improved slightly, Karabacek continued to shirk his duty, and Snouck's moods rose and fell. Like Houtsma, he threatened to throw in the towel on a regular basis.[166] In the meantime, the publication of the first fascicule brought more headache than relief.

4. The Third Stage, Snouck and Houtsma, 1909–1924

De Goeje died on May 17, 1909, leaving the encyclopedia's administration in a shambles. Although Snouck Hurgronje had missed out entirely on the encyclopedia's planning stages, having lived in Indonesia from 1889–1906, and had reservations about it from the beginning,[167] to his credit he took on the enterprise with both hands. Despite regularly emphasizing the provisional nature of the undertaking—"It's a dreadful task that I have temporarily taken on," he wrote to Goldziher—he stayed at the helm until 1922, when the work of the supervisory committee, reduced by the deaths of Karabacek and Goldziher to only Snouck and Houtsma, was taken over by the Amsterdam Academy.

Having immediately discovered that the encyclopedia's finances were in dire straits, Snouck Hurgronje threw himself into righting the ship, which was no mean feat as the encyclopedia was decidedly listing. He first reduced the assistant editors' salaries by seventeen percent; he then dismissed Seligsohn altogether. He pressured Houtsma to shorten the articles and avoid excessive illustration. Superfluous entries would have to be dropped. Although this meant foregoing completeness, not an absolute term to begin with, without strict economizing measures the encyclopedia would not survive past the letter B or C.[168] He wrote more letters asking for funds "than had been written on the encyclopedia's account in the past ten years."[169] The precarious nature of the

on March 6, 1909. Between his December 24 letter and this date, he would send another nine letters to Goldziher on the subject of Karabacek's inertia. Ibid., 283–94. See also Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:599n150.

166. On February 11, 1909, Houtsma wrote Snouck Hurgronje that he would resign if he did not have a free hand in deciding the length of the articles ("als men daarmede ontevreden is, dan reken ik mij ontslagen"); on March 20, Snouck Hurgronje wrote Goldziher he would resign and send his entire encyclopedia archive to Karabacek if the latter did not hurry up and sign the letter supporting Seligsohn's dismissal ("wenn es so weiter geht, schicke ich K. eines Tages das ganze Archiv ins Haus und lege meine Interimfunktion nieder"). For the first, Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:602n154; for the second, Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and Friendship*, 297.

167. Despite calling it "a useful work" (Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and Friendship*, 138) when he first heard of it in 1892, he argued in a letter to Goldziher in 1894 (p. 150) that the idea of a comprehensive encyclopedia was premature ("Drum glaube ich, dass das ganze Unternehmen streng genommen auf unseren Gebiete noch ein verfrühtes ist").

168. "Alle 'Vollständigkeit' ist ja relativ, und wenn man nicht in der angegebnen Weise verfährt, so wird vielleicht eine hohe relative Vollst. erreicht werden, aber nach dem Buchstaben B oder C ist das Geld aufgebracht." Ibid., 286–87.

169. Ibid., 293.

Table 1. Report on the financial situation of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* of April 1910

Academy, Government, Society	Pledge year	Annual amount[170]	For how many years	Installment paid to date
1. Amsterdam Academy	1902	500 guilders	ten	eight
2. Dutch Colonial Govt.	1908	1,000 guilders	ten	three
3. Dutch Trade Society	1909	1,000 guilders	five	one
4. Madrid Academy	1902	500 pesetas	ten	seven
5. Hungarian Academy	1903	1,000 krone	ten	six
6. Vienna Academy	1905	2,500 krone	three (with poss. cont.)	five
7. Saxon Academy	1903	500 marks	three/ twice renewed	five
8. Académie des Inscriptions	1905	1,000 francs	four	three
9. Academy of Algiers	1905	500 francs	undefined	three
10. Accademia dei Lincei	1905	500 lire	five	three
11. Italian government	1908	500 francs	five	one
12. British Academy	1906	200 pounds	ten	four
13. DMG	1909	300 marks	at first, three	not yet paid
14. Senate and citizenry of Hamburg	1909–10	1,000 marks	at first, four	two
15. Lisbon Academy	1908	500 francs	two	one
The following were granted only once or are not being continued:				
16. Copenhagen Academy	1903	2,000 francs		
17. Christiana Academy	1905	500 francs		
18. München Academy	1905	300 marks		
19. St. Petersburg Academy	1903–10	10,000 marks		
20. On the part of the German Colonial Society	1909, 1910	2,000 marks		

In addition, the Société Asiatique pledged a stipend of 500 francs for every published volume, and paid for the first in advance.

encyclopedia's finances would occupy Snouck Hurgronje for many years. Although monies had been pledged (some originally only intended for a monolingual edition), they did not all come in, and Snouck scribbled on many a piece of paper in the coming years how much was owed and how many costs were incurred. His first "Report on the Financial Situation of the Encyclopaedia of Islam" of April 1910 lists the gaping status of pledged funds shortly after he took over from De Goeje (table 1).

170. For conversion rates in 1910, see Denzel, *Handbook*.

As of the end of 1909, after the appearance of four fascicules in all three languages and the printed booklet of entries, the total sum of expenses was ƒ25,245.62, made up of ƒ19,427.05 in editorial costs (Houstma did not take his annual honorarium of ƒ1,200, although as of October 1, 1908, he paid Wensinck with it); ƒ2,783.48 for authors' honoraria; ƒ2,252.01 for translating and proofreading costs; ƒ230.82 for the *Stichwörtersammlung*, ƒ152.50 for three plates of type; ƒ375.25 for a room in Leiden; and ƒ24.51 for miscellaneous costs. The income from all the supporting bodies came to ƒ41,361.24, leaving behind a meager ƒ16,115.61 in the pot.[171] Two years and countless fundraising letters later, pledges from the Egyptian government (to which Snouck discovered, to his displeasure, free copies of the encyclopedia were sent in return), the Johns Hopkins University, the businessman Charles R. Crane of Chicago, and the Hartford Theological Seminary brought the total income to ƒ66,011,15, including interest, which after expenses of ƒ39,455.30 left a balance of ƒ26,555.85.[172] Raising funds for the encyclopedia proved to be a fulltime job.

With the publication of the first fascicule, in which appeared the articles on the reigning Khedive of Egypt, the Turkish sultan, and the emir of Afghanistan, who had recently died, the English worried about the reaction from their colonial subjects.[173] Charles Lyall of the India Office, who had communicated the British concern earlier to De Goeje when negotiating the English subsidy, wrote again:

> I am sure that you recognize that the German point of view (which is predominant in the work) is not likely, for instance, to be in exact accord with—let us say—the French in regard to all pending questions affecting the Muhammadan world; and though we English are perhaps less sensitive to criticism than the French, it seems desirable that the India Office and the Foreign Office should see the text of what it is proposed to say on such matters before it is finally adopted.[174]

Houtsma did not seem to take umbrage at the suggestion, but he felt it was superfluous since the neutrality of the encyclopedia was paramount and sensitive articles about which the British might be concerned were given only to British colleagues to write to begin with; he pointed out as well that the encyclopedia was a publication of the International Association of Academies and not of a government. The English seemed to be satisfied with this answer and whether potentially sensitive articles were ever sent for prior

171. "Bericht über die finanzielle Lage der Enzyklopädie des Islam," Leiden, April 1910: LUL, Or. 18.099, Ar. 4913. Despite the seemingly obvious nature of plates of type, or stereotypes, as "production costs," which would have fallen to E. J. Brill to pay, the explanation given for this amount was that "they did not fall under the contract."

172. "Bericht des Schatzmeisters über den Stand der finanziellen Angelegenheiten der Enzyklopädie des Islam," Leiden, March 1, 1912: LUL, Or. 18.099, Ar. 4913. For Charles R. Crane, see n130, above.

173. The articles ʿAbbās II, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān respectively.

174. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 1:253.

inspection cannot be ascertained. The French suggestion, provoked by Seligsohn's non-native French, that all articles translated into French be approved by a French committee, which costs would be covered by E. J. Brill, was as easily resolved. Houtsma proposed instead that an editor for the French edition be appointed. Accordingly, René Basset, dean of the Faculté d'Alger, agreed to edit the French encyclopedia.[175]

The English edition then followed a similar trajectory. Thomas Arnold, for many years professor in India and since 1904 at the India Office, proposed himself for the position and was added to the editorial board, responsible for the English edition.[176] In November 1909 he had offered his services to revise the translation of articles into English,[177] and within three months had come to an agreement about taking on the English editing.[178] Additionally, Luzac & Co. of London, a bookseller of works of Oriental content since 1890,[179] was given printing rights for the English encyclopedia. Adding two co-editors was in complete accordance with Houtsma's views; as a native speaker of a language in which the encyclopedia was not published, he must have felt distinctly fallible when facing the scorn of his English and French colleagues on account of Seligsohn's alleged failings. He insisted that Basset and Arnold be accorded full editorial privileges, including the choice of translators for their respective languages, editing discretion regarding the

175. Ibid., 1:256. For René Basset (1855–1924), see Fück, *Arabischen Studien*, 251; François Pouillon, ed., *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française* (Paris, 2008), 59–60; obituary notice by F. Krenkow, in *JRAS* 2 (1924), 334–35; unsigned obituary notice, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 3 (1924), 411.

176. Arnold wrote E. G. Browne on January 28, 1910: "I hear from Thomas [Frederick William Thomas (1867–1956), Librarian at the India Office Library 1903–1927] that Prof. Snouck Hurgronje has written you in regard to an English editor for the Encyclopedia of Islam. I should like to undertake this work, unless you are thinking of any one else for the purpose. I understand that the duties consist of superintending the translation of articles into English + taking care that they contain nothing likely to wound the susceptibilities of Indian Muslims. For both of these duties I feel competent." Two days earlier Browne had turned down Snouck Hurgronje's suggestion of himself as editor: "I am afraid that I cannot possibly undertake [?] the supervision of the English edition as you suggest. [...] I ought never to have allowed my name to be placed on the International Committee, for honestly I think the project is foredoomed to failure, and I think the time is not ripe for such a work." Both letters, LUL, Or. 18.099, Ar. 4915. For Sir Thomas Walker Arnold, who was appointed assistant librarian at the India Office Library when F. W. Thomas was promoted to Librarian, see n83, above.

177. Snouck Hurgronje to Arnold ["Dear Sir"], November 16, 1909. Harvard University Archives, H. A. R. Gibb Papers, box 2, folder 11. As an aside, it is interesting that Gibb had such early letters from 1909 and 1910 to Arnold from Snouck Hurgronje and Houtsma in his possession.

178. Other than his expenses of postage reimbursed, a long exposition by Snouck Hurgronje on the history of the difficulties, especially financial, of the trilingual encyclopedia seems to have persuaded Arnold from not being paid for his work, but we do not learn from the available correspondence what exactly "the conditions stipulated in your letter [of February 3, 1910]" were. Snouck Hurgronje to Arnold ["Dear Sir"], February 5, 1910. Harvard University Archives, H. A. R. Gibb Papers, box 2, folder 11.

179. Andrew Block, *A Short History of the Principal London Antiquarian Booksellers and Book-Auctioneers* (London, 1933), 36.

resulting translations, and final vetting of these (see fig. 20 for his 1910 letter to Arnold about editorial matters). Their names would be listed on the title page on the same level as that of Houtsma.

The German edition had fared better than the other two since a native speaker—Arthur Schaade—translated the articles not originally written in German.[180] In Germany he was elevated to the position of co-editor.[181] Despite his salary being reduced from ƒ1,800 to ƒ1,500, he stayed on for another year. He was replaced on October 1, 1910, by another young German at the same level, Richard Hartmann, who was strongly recommended to both Snouck Hurgronje and Houtsma by his professor C. F. Seybold, Professor of Oriental Studies at Tübingen.[182] Hartmann would stay three years, leaving in 1913 for Kiel. He suffered from a heart ailment, which was exacerbated by the stress brought on by the encyclopedia and by his relationship with Snouck Hurgronje. He was convinced, as he wrote to Carl Heinrich Becker, whom he highly respected, that despite his assurances of friendship, Snouck Hurgronje behaved, apparently without wanting to, as if his only object was to harm him.[183]

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180. Seligsohn thought so little, or was so jealous, of Schaade that he would denigrate him thus: "One thing is clear, Mr. Houtsma's recruit for the encyclopedia belongs to the category of these young 'scholars' who abound in Germany, who, just out of secondary school, take a course of Arabic for a few semesters, present a concoction of a few pages as thesis in order to be able to sport the pompous title of 'Herr Doktor' and dare to take on everything." M. Seligsohn, *L'Encyclopédie de l'Islam* (Bruges, 1909), 8. See appendix two for the remainder. Seligsohn's disparaging remarks of German dissertations are affirmed by Josef van Ess, who notes that at this time in Germany "the Ph.D. dissertation was not yet so important to a scholarly career. There were no junior positions in the universities, but only chairs; success was therefore not so much a question of how a scholar started, but how he continued [...]." Van Ess, "From Wellhausen to Becker," 28n10.

181. Indeed, the entire German edition was co-opted, viz., an early advertisement by Otto Harrassowitz announcing the sale of *Enzyklopaedie des Islām* the editing of which "was entrusted to Professor M. Th. Houtsma and A. Schaade," calling it a "joint publication of his [E. J. Brill] and my firm." *JRAS* (1908), back pages. This must be the basis for Cornelis Peltenburg's boast in 1927 that he had "sold the [Encyclopaedia] to Luzac & Co. in London, in Germany to Otto Harrassowitz in Leipzig, in France to Aug. Picard in Paris." Van der Veen, *Brill: 325 jaar uitgeven*, 99, from an interview given by Peltenburg to M. J. Brusse (d. 1941), a journalist at the daily *Neuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (January 5, 12, and 19, 1927).

182. For Richard Hartmann (1881–1965), see Hans Robert Roemer, "Richard Hartmann in memoriam (1881–1965)," *ZDMG* 117 (1967), 1–10. For Christian Friedrich Seybold (1859–1921), student of Socin, see the obituary notice by Richard Hartmann, in *Der Islam* 12 (1922), 202–6; Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:605n161.

183. "Zwar versichert mir Snouck Hurgronje dass er mir von Anfang bis zu Ende freundlich gesinnt gewesen sei [...] aber gehandelt hat er—anscheinend ohne es zu wollen—also sein einziges Ziel wäre, mir auf jede Weise zu schaden." Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:605n161. However, Snouck Hurgronje's letters to Nöldeke and Goldziher had for the most part only praise for Hartmann—his work was "excellent," and his departure "a large but unfortunately unavoidable loss" although "he was temperamental." Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and Friendship*, 385, 390, 403. Snouck Hurgronje's anxiety about the encyclopedia's finances during these years was the possible culprit behind his ill-humor.

This was a foreboding of what was to come between Snouck Hurgonje and Carl Heinrich Becker, the strong advocate in Germany of *Islamwissenschaft* for political purposes. Hartmann left after the publication of the first volume, which Snouck Hurgronje announced in a letter to Goldziher of February 2, 1913, "would have been published long ago had Becker not delayed the business with his [encyclopedia article] 'Egypt' for months." He could not resist more bellyaching:

> After repeated reminders, he sent a first section of this article, which he had accepted a long time ago. The remaining sections failed to appear and then they had to be translated and printed! The typesetting of the later article already used up the entire supply of type, and Becker sends only excuses! Such things happen all the time and then the public wrongly points to the editor or publisher as the guilty party."[184]

Their relationship was most sorely tested, however, when Becker wrote Snouck Hurgronje after Germany invaded Belgium in August 1914 that "small countries were fated to be sucked up by bigger ones," although he understood that the Dutchman "could not yet rise to this point of view."[185] Blasting "the lamentable upsetting of the balance, even in the intellectual atmosphere, of what we used to call the civilized world," which included a critique of a pamphlet by Becker called *Deutschland und der Islam*, Snouck Hurgronje then published an article "Holy War Made in Germany" that caused much consternation.[186]

Before the unconscionable offense that politics pure would provoke, however, Hartmann was succeeded in August 1913 by Hans Bauer, a former Catholic priest who left the church on account of the anti-modernist oath issued by Pope Pius X in 1910, which he refused to take, and "converted to the Arabists," as Snouck Hurgronje phrased it in a letter to Goldziher. Bauer impressed Snouck as "thoughtful" and Snouck hoped he would be steadfast in his allegiance to the encyclopedia.[187]

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184. Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and Friendship*, 389. For Carl Heinrich Becker, see Alexander Haridi, *Das Paradigma der "islamischen Zivilisation"–oder die Begründung der deutschen Islamwissenschaft durch Carl Heinrich Becker (1876–1933)* (Würzburg, 2005); James Herman, "Carl Heinrich Becker and the Making of the Modern Orient" (M.A. thesis, Georgia State University, 2014), available online at http://scholarworks.gsu.edu/.

185. Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam*, 190.

186. C. Snouck Hurgronje, "Heilige oorlog made in Germany," *De Gids* 79,1 (1915), 144 (the entire article, pp. 115–47, is accessible online at www.dbnl.org), tr. Joseph E. Gillet, *The Holy War "Made in Germany"* (New York, 1915), 75. Snouck Hurgronje puts Becker's comment of the fate of small countries in a similar context when he recounts it to Goldziher: "[u]nd der bewundernswerte deutsche Patriotismus versteigt sich leider bei übrigens besonnen Leuten zum tollsten Fanatismus" (Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and Friendship*, 414). For more on this episode, see chapter four, below.

187. "Hoffentlich bleibt er der Enzyklopädie lange Zeit treu." Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and Friendship*, 403. For Hans Bauer, see Holger Gzella, "Hans Bauer und die historisch-vergleichende Semi-

As Houtsma had warned, the fact of the encyclopedia being published in three languages was a weak link. Translators from and into the three languages—usually not found in one person—were very hard to come by, especially, notes Snouck Hurgronje, in the form of a Britisher or Frenchman.[188] In the place of Seligsohn for translation into English Snouck Hurgronje found a certain Dr. Barnouw, who despite not being a native English speaker seemed "very promising": he taught English and Anglo-Saxon at the university in Leiden and his wife, with whom he collaborated, was "an educated Englishwoman."[189] But Snouck agonized over the payment for translations. They had originally been set at DM 50 a sheet; nobody but Dr. Barnouw could be found for those wages, and Barnouw, who could earn more by giving private lessons and was begging to be relieved, was working very slowly.[190] Having been told by all and sundry that translators into French and German could not be found for less than DM 100 a sheet, Snouck Hurgronje felt that he was forced to double the encyclopedia payment. This went very much against the grain, especially since he had just reduced the honorarium for contributors to 200 marks per sheet from 320. Not that less honorarium mattered to him ("Personally I am prepared to sacrifice trouble, time, and money; I have never taken my rightful honoraria") but "we should not impose our idealism on the majority of contributors; most work only for the sake of the remuneration," he wrote to Goldziher.[191] When a highly recommended English translator in Oxford by the name of Pogson informed him that he regularly received double that amount per sheet and that he would therefore only be able to work on the

tistik," in *Studien zur Semitistik und Arabistik*, ed. Jastrow et al., 141–81; Richard Hadl, "Hans Bauer," *Artibus Asiae* 7 (1937), 230–32.

188. Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and Friendship*, 311.

189. Ibid., 295. Barnouw is described by Snouck to Nöldeke as a *Privatdozent*, a lecturer at the bottom of the German academic ladder, often unsalaried.

190. Ibid., 331.

191. Ibid., 311–13. According to Houtsma, the economizing measures were agreed to by the other supervisory committee members and later formally authorized at the meeting of the International Association of Academies in Rome, 1910, and in Athens, 1913 [*sic*] (Kramers, "Wordingsgeschiedenis," 16n1), but it seems that Snouck Hurgronje became impatient with Karabacek never answering or sending on any of Snouck's letters so that he took it upon himself to impose these cuts: "Es wird mir unmöglich sein, über die Beantwortung aller dieser Fragen Rundschreiben zu versenden, welche dann so lange in Karabaceks Schublade bleiben bis ich sie mit kostpieligen Telegrammen herausbekomme. Ich werde Alles nach bestem Wissen entscheiden, in der Hoffnung dass die Kommission, die erst in Athen wird tagen können, mich nicht désavouiren wird," Snouck Hurgronje wrote to Goldziher on January 26, 1910. The Athens congress took place April 7–14, 1912. The questions he alludes to are those asked by Basset upon being offered the French editorship: how much honorarium will he get; how much honorarium does a translator get; and how much advance is there for shipping costs, etc.?

encyclopedia in his spare time, Snouck Hurgronje wished, not for the first time, that the encyclopedia would die an honorable death.[192]

In July 1910 at the age of 53, Snouck Hurgronje had taken a bride, Ida Maria Oort (b. 1873), a bosom friend of De Goeje's niece Betsy, who had lodged with the De Goeje family for the last eight years.[193] His love life is the stuff of legend—according to most, Snouck Hurgronje had been married twice before while in the East Indies and had a total of at least five children. He kept his marriages, which were contracted Islamically, from the public eye.[194] Although Snouck Hurgronje himself denied the rumors,[195] most official biographies acknowledge the existence of these marriages.[196] There is an unconfirmed report as well that Snouck Hurgronje had a dalliance with or wed a woman, some say an Ethiopian, during his stay in Mecca, whom he left behind pregnant when he was deported.[197] However happy his personal life may have been, the encyclopedia's business gave more grief than pleasure.[198] The finances were a persistent worry, necessitating an exhausting two-month fundraising trip to the United States in the winter of 1914, where Snouck Hurgronje was nevertheless the beneficiary of "boundless hospitality"[199] and from which not a few pledges followed; and the nagging personnel problems continued ("Complaints and grievances from everyone about everyone," wrote Snouck Hurgronje to Goldziher[200]). Bauer demanded to work from Halle, which caused a dilemma because of the distance, "Basset and Arnold [were] unhappy with Houtsma and vice versa,"[201] Houtsma was also annoyed with the contributors, and the contributors were either up-

192. Ibid., 339: "[W]ollte ich wohl dass eine hervorragende Autorität einen vernünftigen Vorschlag machte, mittels dessen die Enzyklopädie ehrlich begraben werden könnte."

193. Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam*, 156; Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and Friendship*, 342.

194. Van Koningsveld, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam*, 131–41. His second wife was thirteen years old at the time (p. 136), and bore him a son, whom Van Koningsveld met in person.

195. As in the letter he wrote to Herman Bavinck, in *Een Leidse vriendschap*, ed. J. de Bruijn and G. Harinck (Baarn, 1999), 142. See Van der Meulen, *Don't You Hear the Thunder*, 75, however, according to whom Snouck Hurgronje had most certainly married an Indonesian Muslim.

196. E.g., Snouck Hurgronje's bio in the Tropen Museum collection online, which notes that he married two Indonesian women, but only once in accordance with the law, to Ida Maria Oort, "with whom he had a daughter Christien, named after him, who is his only legitimate child according to Dutch law" (http://collectie.tropenmuseum.nl/default.aspx?ccid=P6011).

197. See the report by Barry Nelid for CNN, "Adventurer's photos capture a bygone Mecca, November 18, 2010, at www.cnn.com/2010/WORLD/meast/11/11/mecca.hajj.snouck/index.html; Van der Meulen *Don't You Hear the Thunder*, 75.

198. "[H]at mir die Enzyklopädie immerfort viel Kummer und wenig Freude bereitet." Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and Friendship*, 393.

199. Ibid., 407.

200. Ibid.

201. Ibid. A testy letter by Houtsma, dated December 13, 1913, reads: "No, another sending to Arnold is completely unnecessary. Huart's changes, however, must be incorporated in the English edition. I object to the additions by Basset in the Bibliography, but now that the author Huart agrees, I acquiesce.

set, such as Karabacek who was angered that his work was not referenced by Becker,[202] or upsetting, such as Browne and Goldziher who wrote articles for rival publications that they then had to decline for the encyclopedia.[203] After Bauer was let go in November 1914 when he joined the Red Cross[204]—he was reinstated a few months later in 1915—his work was taken over by Cornelis van Arendonk, who was painstakingly thorough. And throughout these years the discovery that pledges were being given on a large scale against free copies, even to the Dutch government, was still a thorn in Snouck Hurgronje's side, refusing to go away.[205]

In the midst of all these difficulties, a foreboding of larger ones loomed. In May 1913 Snouck Hurgronje had to do without Goldziher's company at the International Association of Academies meeting in St. Petersburg, as the latter did not wish to apply for a passport, which was required of Jews entering Russia.[206] While noting this, Snouck Hurgonje

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I have written Basset about the French translations and asked him to check them better. Whether that will help?" LUL, Or. 14.606, Ar. 4782.

202. Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and Friendship*, 393. According to Snouck Hurgronje, this had reference to inter alia Becker's article Djizya.

203. Goldziher turned down the request to write the entry on Ibn Ḥazm because he had written it for Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (vol. 7, 1915). Snouck Hurgronje suggested to Goldziher that his prominent role in the encyclopedia precluded his writing for a rival publication (Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and Friendship*, 437) and he begged him to submit a rewrite for the encyclopedia, but it seems to have been in vain—the article on Ibn Ḥazm that appeared was written by C. Arendonk. Goldziher seems to have forgotten Snouck Hurgronje's grousing five years previously, in January 1910, about E. G. Browne, "who nota bene represents England on the committee," declining the article Bābī because of a commitment to write it for "another encyclopedia"—which turned out also to be Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (vol. 2, 1909). Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and Friendship*, 339.

204. Bauer's dismissal, occasioned by the unease brought about by his not wishing to live in Leiden, which was a condition of his employ, by his having joined the German Red Cross upon the war breaking out, and by his expectation to be sent to Prussia at any moment, was the subject of a number of letters between Snouck Hurgronje and Theodor Nöldeke, who acted as middleman between Snouck Hurgronje and Becker and remonstrated with Snouck about his alleged anti-German attitude, which Snouck hotly denied. Snouck Hurgronje to Nöldeke of February 16, 22, 26, 27, March 1, 3, 14, 1915 (ibid., 212–33); see also Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam*, 212–15.

205. Snouck Hurgronje first discovered this violation of the agreement between E. J. Brill and the encyclopedia's committee to keep sales and subventions completely separate in September 1909 ("Und nun ergibt sich, dass der Jahreszuschuss [by the Egyptian government] von £100 auf 10 Jahre gewährt wurde mit der Bedingung der Lieferung von 100 Exemplaren!"). Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and Friendship*, 326. In July 1918 he learned that the Governor General of Algeria had been receiving three copies of the encyclopedia against an annual subvention of 1,000 francs when the latter wrote René Basset to ask for a fourth copy for the Minister of the Interior, including back issues already published ("J'ai l'honneur de vous prier de vouloir bien faire le service d'un quatrième exemplaire à M. le Ministre de l'Intérieur qui m'en a exprimé le désir [...]. [Il] demande également que la collection des numéros déjà parus, lui soit adressée"). LUL, Or. 18.099, Ar. 4913.

206. Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam*, 175. According to Snouck, Goldziher's friends at the St.

could still jest with Nöldeke: "Not without a touch of Muslim Schadenfreude do I see the Balkan Christians at one another's throats," adding in Arabic, "And God does not guide the unbelieving peoples."[207] Almost exactly a year later, the First World War broke out. Houtsma recalled that period a few years later:[208]

> While the printing of the second volume progressed at a regular if slightly slow pace,[209] as can be expected with three editors, and we were already into the letter R, the European war broke out. Along with so many other high hopes, our modest international work also seemed as if it would suddenly be erased. With the breakdown of all international relations, who dared hope that it would be possible to continue a work that owed its entire existence to the collaboration of Germans and English, Austrians and Russians, not to mention the French and Italians, for which existence collaboration was indispensable? Not only the cannon, also the mouths of renowned scholars attested that internationalism was finished. Indeed, circumstances were highly unfavorable, and when my German editor informed me that he had signed up for ambulance work and therefore did not know whether he would have the opportunity to fulfill his obigations vis-à-vis the Encyclopaedia, I even momentarily considered waiting for better times to continue the work. Then in good time I remembered that as a citizen of a neutral country I was duty-bound to preserve, however possible, the international relationships, at least in the sphere in which I worked. And this was possible, thanks to the cooperation of most of those with whom I had worked till then, insofar as they were not out fighting for the war god or, as was unfortunately the case with some, had met their death on the battlefield. But even though the work went on, I do not have to add that the pace, which was not very fast to begin with, dropped to a level of mimimal activity. The printed sheets are worked on for weeks, even months, before the fervently desired *imprimatur* is stamped on them and it is difficult to keep attending to a work whose moving parts seem paralyzed. In these circumstances, it will certainly take some time before the work is finished; the ten years that were originally thought necessary will without doubt become 20 or more.[210]

Petersburg Academy assured him that an exception would be made for him and they urged him to accept it, but he adamantly refused to accept a privilege that should have been rightfully afforded to all Jews (Snouck Hurgronje, in *De Gids* 85 [1921], 497).

207. Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam*, 174a–175a. The Arabic, *wa-llāhu lā yahdī l-qawma l-kāfirīna*, is from the Quran, Q Baqara 2:264.

208. Although the text did not appear until 1941, it is said that he wrote it in 1916 adding changes that occurred afterward in 1926. Kramers, "Wordingsgeschiedenis," 9.

209. The first volume was published in 1913.

210. Ibid., 16–17. Houtsma favors a formal style of writing, common at that time, which is difficult to reproduce without coming across as an unpolished translator.

The First World War was a grievous experience for all involved; it was not only devastating in terms of lives lost, but, as Houtsma recognized, it was a severe blow to the idea that Europe could solve any problems through common interests. However, the encyclopedia itself was only temporarily threatened by the events at hand (treated more fully in chapter four, below). Other than personal animosities engendered by the rush of patriotic feelings, the scholars involved in the encyclopedia continued their regular correspondence with one another and finished their contributions.[211]

One casualty of the war was the International Association of Academies, which was effectively dissolved as of December 1918. Its science arm was replaced by the International Research Council (IRC)[212] and its humanities arm by the Union Académique Internationale, still active today.[213] The Central Powers, viz. Germany, the Austro-Hungarian empire, the Ottoman empire, and Bulgaria, were not invited to join in their respective constitutive meetings held in 1919. In fact, it would not be until June 1926 that scholars from these states would be invited back into the international fold.

As Houtsma indicated, the encyclopedia continued on its path as before; it had always been independent of the Association, which body had watched from the sideline but had exercised little if any authority during its lifetime, lending only its name as patron to the enterprise and allowing the encyclopedia's executive committee to supervise the progress.[214] The hope that monies sent by the member academies would swell the encyclopedia's coffers had long been forsaken. With its demise and the passing of Karabacek shortly before, on October 9, 1918, the encyclopedia's working hub—the president of the executive committee, the editor-in-chief, treasurer, and publisher of the work—were all Dutch, and residing in Leiden. Under these circumstances, it was expedient to consider the publication a Dutch one, suggested Snouck Hurgonje to Goldziher in November 1919, with the support and, of course, the supervision of some foreign organizations.[215] There is no reply from Goldziher or evidence of further discussion between the two about this,

211. "It is welcome evidence that there can still be international cooperation in the realm of scientific research during the present conflict." Review (by S. M. Z.) of *EI*1, vol. 2, fasc. 21 (Ḥadīth–Ḥanafīs), in *The Moslem World* 9 (1919), 103–4.

212. For background, see Greenaway, *Science International*, chap. 2.

213. www.uai-iua.org.

214. "Die grössere Kommission hat eigenlich [*sic*] immer nur aus der Ferne zugesehen, und zwar eigentlich nicht einmal zugesehen, wie die Arbeit unter Aufsicht des Exekutivkomitees geführt wurde." Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and Friendship*, 546.

215. "Nun fragt sich, ob es [...] nicht besser wäre [...] die Publikation fernerhin zu betrachten als eine, mit Unterstützung und natürlich unter Aufsicht einiger ausländischer Gesellschaften zu vollendende holländische Publikation." Ibid. Snouck Hurgronje also wrote the British Academy on July 2, 1922, about the predicament of the all-Dutch direction, beginning the letter with "We have the honour to direct the attention of the British Academy to the abnormal situation of the arrangement of the Encyclopaedia of Islam" and asking that supervision be therefore delegated to the Dutch Academy. (A typing error, one assumes, had him labeling Houtsma throughout as the "thief-editor." LUL, Or. 18.099, Ar. 4913.)

but by 1922 the literary section of the Amsterdam Academy had taken over the role of the supervisory committee.[216] The Academy's financial expenditures for 1921 and 1922 also list its *f*500 subventions for the encyclopedia, as well as its forecast subvention of the same amount for the year 1923.

The vanguard of the encyclopedia lost another member when Goldziher died on November 13, 1921, at the age of 71. Snouck Hurgronje wrote Nöldeke: "Goldziher's death is for me as much an irreparable loss as Wellhausen's; I was personally more intimate with both of them than with other colleagues here or abroad. Such friends cannot be replaced."[217] This left Houtsma and Snouck Hurgronje himself to carry on. Although the latter still had worries of a financial nature—he confided to the German Semitist Carl Bezold in 1921 that the considerable costs for the still outstanding part of the encyclopedia were a big concern to him[218]—the encyclopedia was not in the financially worrisome state it had been in ten years earlier. In fact, the encyclopedia pledged a part of its subventions to E. J. Brill when the publisher threatened to pull out of the project in 1922 because of the changed market after the war.[219] Nevertheless, Snouck Hurgronje's fundraising letters are a constant in the archives. Correspondence was not limited to a simple request and confirmation of receipt; some correspondents required a formal acknowledgment of terms accepted, as in the case of a letter from I. Gollancz, Secretary of the British Academy, dated May 14, 1918:

> With reference to the Encyclopaedia of Islam, I am very glad to be able to tell you that the Secretary of State for India [...] has decided to make a contribution of eighty pounds for each fasciculus [...] to be published of the English edition. This undertaking is subject to the same stipulation as before regarding the exclusion of any matter likely to be obnoxious to the feelings of Indian Muhammadans and also to the following conditions: – (1) payment will only be made after publication; (2) the number of fasciculi to which it will apply will be limit-

216. As noted in the report of activities undertaken by the Amsterdam Academy in the period between April 1, 1921, and December 31, 1922, in *Jaarboek der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, 1921–1922* (Amsterdam, 1923), 64: "Nu de 'Association' door den wereldoorlog ontbonden werd en de 'U.A.I' voornoemde functie niet heeft overgenomen, meende het comité zich te moeten wenden tot de letterkundige Afdeeling van de Academie met verzoek voortaan als commissie van toezicht op te treden, aan welk verzoek door de Afdeeling is voldaan." In a letter from Snouck Hurgronje and Houtsma addressed to the Academies involved in the publication of the encyclopedia, it was further announced that the Amsterdam Academy would regularly apprise the other Academies of the encyclopedia's continued progress. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:608n165.

217. Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam*, 296.

218. Snouck Hurgronje, *Minor German Correspondences of C. Snouck Hurgronje*, 137: "die riesigen Kosten des Druckes für den noch ausstehenden Teil des Werkes machen mir viel Sorge." For Carl Bezold (1859–1922), see Paret and Schall, *Ein Jahrhundert Orientalistik*, 31.

219. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:608n165.

> ed to the thirty seven at present contemplated; (3) the gratuitous presentation of the same number of copies as at present will be expected; (4) a satisfactory rate of progress must be maintained and yearly reports should be furnished giving information on this point.[220]

Snouck Hurgronje's answer, as noted on the margin of the letter, seems to register at long last an acceptance of the idiosyncrasies of the funding bodies: "answered 14.VI.1918 gratefully accepted grant and stipulations, but urged upon indulgent application of condition 4, the slow progress due to circumstances independent from zeal of editors."

From the moment Hans Bauer returned to his German editing in 1915—this time working from Halle with permission from Houtsma and Snouck Hurgronje, albeit reluctantly given[221]—the trilingual problems of the encyclopedia were laid to rest for a time. Basset and Arnold managed their editions independently, and Houtsma seems to have eased into a routine, which continued even some years after his taking emeritus status in September 1917, at the age of 66.[222] In October 1922 Arthur Schaade took over from Bauer when the latter was appointed professor in Halle; Schaade himself was succeeded by Wilhelm Heffening in August 1925. With Heffening, who would stay until the completion of the first edition, the vicissitudes of the German edition came to an end.[223] Basset died in 1924, just shy of his seventieth birthday, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Henri, who unfortunately succumbed two years later, in 1926, "worn out by the pain that undermined him since his injury during the war.[224] The responsibilities for the French

220. LUL, Or. 18.099, Ar. 4915.

221. Although Snouck Hurgronje was not thrilled that Bauer would be reappointed, which he makes clear in his correspondence to Nöldeke, in his request to Karabacek and Goldziher on March 27, 1915, that Bauer's stipend be reduced on account of his living abroad, he wrote that the reappointment was very desirable ("seine Wiederanstellung scheint mir [...] durchaus wünschenswert"; LUL, Or. 18.099, Ar. 4914). His true feelings were articulated a year later when he wrote Nöldeke: "I must add a repeated complaint about [Bauer's] lack of drive as editor for the Encyclopaedia of Islam. He manages the DMG library, is filled with fantasies of an etymological nature and treats the Encycl., exactly as was feared when he requested to stay in Halle, as an afterthought." Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam*, 241. For the German–Dutch testiness caused by Bauer's desire to work from Halle, see chapter four, below.

222. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 1:292. Snouck Hurgronje erroneously describes him as 65 years old, in a letter to Goldziher of August 29, 1917, that also confirms Th. W. Juynboll's appointment to succeed Houtsma in Utrecht. Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and Friendship*, 502.

223. For Wilhelm Heffening (1894–1944), see Richard Mummendey, *Der Bibliothekare des wissenschaftlichen Dienstes der Universitätsbibliothek Bonn, 1818–1968* (Bonn, 1968), 88–91 (which erroneously gives the death date as 1943); Franz-Josef Huschens, *Der Bonner Bibliothekar und Orientalist Wilhelm Heffening (1894–1944): Eine bio-bibliographische Studie nebst einem Verzeichnis der aus seiner Privatbibliothek stammenden Druckschriften in den Beständen der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn* (Berlin, 1997) (unseen).

224. Pouillon, *Dictionnaire des orientalistes*, 59 (which entry provides the tidbit that Évariste Lévi-Provençal, who took over Henri Basset's French editorship of the encyclopedia as well as his position as director of the Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocains upon his death, also married his widow and raised

edition were then taken over by Évariste Lévi-Provençal, who would continue into the second edition. As for the English edition, when Arnold died in 1930, he was replaced by Hamilton A. R. Gibb, who also continued into the second edition.

The biggest change, however, came with Houtsma's resignation in 1924; his chosen successor was Arent Jan Wensinck, his former student at Utrecht, who had assisted Houtsma with various tasks on the encyclopedia for at least a decade.[225] The appointment was confirmed by the Dutch Academy. Wensinck stipulated two conditions before agreeing: Houtsma would stay on in an advisory position, with his name remaining on the title page, and the encyclopedia—still mired in the second volume—must be finished within ten years ("A longer period would not suit me, and the encyclopedia even less"), which E. J. Brill took to heart by putting more typesetters to work.[226] According to Kramers's update of Houtsma's report on the encyclopedia, under Wensinck work began immediately on the fourth volume, beginning with S, while the second volume was still in preparation, so that during Wensinck's tenure, two volumes were worked on simultaneously. The encyclopedia thus raced to completion: volume 2 (E–K) appeared in 1927; volume 4 (S–Z) in 1934; and volume 3 (L–R) in 1936.[227]

5. Wensinck Succeeds, 1924–1939

Arent Jan Wensinck turned forty-two years old in August 1924 when he became editor of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*; he had been professor of Semitic languages at Leiden since 1912 and was occupied with three impressive projects that would solidify his name in the field: *A Handbook of Muhammadan Traditions* (1927), *The Muslim Creed* (1932), and, in particular, *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane* (1969, of which the first volume—of seven—was published during his lifetime, in 1936). According to a colleague, the number of Wensinck-authored articles in the encyclopedia "is very considerable, as he often undertook work for which he could not find a suitable author."[228] Two of his

her two small daughters). According to Lévi-Provençal, the encyclopedia was an "arduous task, which contributed not a little to wearing [Basset] out." Henri Basset was only 33 at the time of his death. See Lévi-Provençal's obituary notice of Henri Basset, in *Hespéris* 6 (1926), 1–4; and that by Georges Hardy, in *Mémorial Henri Basset* (Paris, 1928), vii–xiv.

225. For Wensinck, see n141, above. Very unfortunately, piecing together Wensinck's years as editor are complicated by the absence of an archive of personal papers.

226. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:608n166.

227. The publication dates of the first encyclopedia edition are mishandled in many sources, including the 1987 reprint in 9 vols. (*E. J. Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1913–1936*), which lists 1927 as the date of appearance for all four volumes as well as the Supplement fascicules of the original first edition. For the correct dates, see also Joseph Schacht, "The Encyclopaedia of Islam," *ACLS Newsletter* 14,2 (1963), 8.

228. F. Krenkow, in *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad) 14 (1940), 235. For Fritz Krenkow (1872–1953), German scholar of Arab poetry, see Fück, *Arabischen Studien*, 280. For another take on Krenkow, who was married

contributions, a supplementary paragraph to "Ibrāhīm" and the article "Kaʿba," greatly offended Egyptian sensibilities when the encyclopedia was being translated into Arabic in 1933.[229] By this time, Wensinck had succeeded to Snouck Hurgronje's chair of Arabic at Leiden, which came available in 1927, and had just been named to the Royal Academy of the Arabic Language in Cairo, established on December 13, 1932, by decree of King Fuad I.[230] Wensinck was one of five Western scholars—orientalists all—chosen to sit on the board of the Egyptian Academy, the others being H. A. R. Gibb, Louis Massignon, August Fischer, and Carlo Nallino.[231]

The Ibrāhīm addendum presented Snouck Hurgronje's thesis in his dissertation "Het Mekkaansche Feest"[232] in which he argued—based on a (mistaken) chronology of Quranic suras—that Islam's portrayal of Ibrahim as a monotheist and the first Muslim, founder of the Kaʿba, was an expedient move by Muḥammad ("he therefore ingeniously created the new role of the patriarch") that took place only after Muḥammad was not embraced by the Jews of the Hijaz and had fled to Medina from Mecca.[233] Wensinck repeats the same argument in "Kaʿba" ("this volte-face [change of *qibla*] was justified by an appeal to the 'religion of Abraham', which was specially invented for the occasion"). The translations of both articles into Arabic were launched lamentably into the midst of Egyptian discontent at the appointment of orientalists to the Academy and added fuel to the fire. The

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to D. H. Lawrence's maternal aunt Ada Rose Beardsall and to whom some letters from D. H. Lawrence are extant, see *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, ed. James T. Boulton and Andrew Robertson, vol. 2, part 1 (Cambridge, 1984); John Worthen, *D. H. Lawrence: The Early Years, 1885–1912* (Cambridge, 1991).

229. Other articles and orientalists were found offending as well, e.g., the article Ālūsī(-zāde) by Carl Brockelmann, which was singled out by M. A. al-Faqīh Ḥassan, and the scholars D. S. Margoliouth, Léopold Brunot, and Snouck Hurgronje; see Khalid Duran, "Ahmad Amin: The Twentieth Century Quest for Muslim Identity, Part Two," *International Journal of Islamic and Arabic Studies* 2 (1985), 76; Rached Hamzaoui, *L'Académie de langue arabe du Caire: Histoire et oeuvre* (Tunis, 1975), 73 and n92. For the Arabic translations of the encyclopedia, see chapter two, n68.

230. For a study of the "Wensinck affair," see Umar Ryad, "The Dismissal of A. J. Wensinck from the Royal Academy of the Arabic Language in Cairo," in *The Study of Religion and the Training of Muslim Clergy in Europe: Academic and Religious Freedom in the 21st Century*, ed. Willem B. Drees and Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld (Leiden, 2008), 91–134. For the Academy, see Hamzaoui, *L'Académie de langue arabe*; Anwar G. Chejne, *The Arabic Language: Its Role in History* (Minneapolis, 1969), 105–7.

231. Along with the honor bestowed upon Wensinck in this way, the appointment guaranteed an annual sojourn in Egypt. Huizinga, in *Jaarboek der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1939–1940*, 221.

232. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1880.

233. See "Ibrāhīm" (A. J. Wensinck) in *EI*1. The outcry still resonated when Rudi Paret wrote a new article Ibrāhīm for the second edition, published in 1969, for it is largely taken up by an explanation of Snouck Hurgronje's thesis and the crisis it caused in 1933; cf. *EI*2, 3:980b. For an analysis of Snouck's theory, supported by Wensinck, and of Abrahamic monotheism, see Khalil Athamina, "Abraham in Islamic Perspective: Reflections on the Development of Monotheism in Pre-Islamic Arabia," *Der Islam* 81 (2004), 184–205.

upshot of the controversy was that Wensinck's appointment to the Egyptian Academy was rescinded and the German Enno Littmann was invited—and accepted—in Wensinck's stead.[234] This uncollegial ending to the crisis then generated talk that the Germans had been behind the uproar to begin with, now conveniently resolved by the appointment of two German orientalists on the Academy. The first was August Fischer, professor at the University of Leipzig, who is best known for his work of forty years on which the *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache* is based;[235] a few years earlier he had entered into a squabble with Joseph Schacht—the future editor of the second edition—by pedantically pointing out some mistakes in the Arabic that Schacht had made (Fischer admitted to finding *fiqh* and its ethics "boring and even repellent"), which resulted in a number of journal articles and pamphlets of accusation and rejoinder.[236] Fischer was a member of the National Socialists; during the controversy he only agreed at a late date to take part in a solidarity measure for Wensinck—not to cooperate with the Academy—that was proposed by H. A. R. Gibb. However, due to political expediency and pressure from their governments, the appointees to the Egyptian Academy were unable to embark on this drastic step; instead the four went to Cairo to plead Wensinck's case in person at the Academy. In the end, they were unable to, and from the vantage point of Wensinck, they had not stood up for him as they should have.[237]

The difference in viewpoint or, as above, a lack of acknowledgment of different viewpoints about sensitive topics would subject the encyclopedia and its editors to more scraps in the future; the second edition was also confronted with expressions of Muslim displeasure off and on. Wensinck argued that his sympathy for Islam was evident in his other writings and filed the incident under the heading "Freedom of Research."[238] From the Dutch perspective, at least, he "bore this painful disappointment with the dignity native to him and did not speak of it."[239] It did not deter him from making a second trip to Egypt in the winter of 1938–1939, after which he fell ill, dying nine months later on

234. Ryad, "Dismissal of Wensinck," 104–5. For Enno Littmann (1875–1958), Professor of Oriental Languages at Tübingen University, and his many fields of study, see the obituary notice by Rudi Paret, in *ZDMG* 109 (1959), 9–15; Paret and Schall, *Ein Jahrhundert Orientalistik*, 1955.

235. For August Fischer (1865–1949), see the obituary notices by J. W. Fück, in *ZDMG* 100 (1950), 1–18 (includes a bibliography), and Arthur Schaade, in *Der Islam* 30 (1952), 97–101. See also Jörg Kraemer, "August Fischers Sammlungen zum arabischen Lexikon," *ZDMG* 105,1 (1955), 81–105.

236. See Van Ess, "From Wellhausen to Becker," 40nn76, 77.

237. Ryad, "Dismissal of Wensinck," 103, 107–9. Louis Massignon would later belittle the controversy. After praising Wensinck's "fundamental articles" in the encyclopedia, such as that on Ibrahim, he noted the "absurd press incident" that kept Wensinck from the inauguration of the Royal Academy in Cairo. Obituary notice by Louis Massignon, in *Journal Asiatique* 233 (1941–1942), 214.

238. Cf. Ryad, "Dismissal of Wensinck," 100.

239. Huizinga, in *Jaarboek der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1939–1940*, 221.

September 19, 1939, with the first edition, which included five supplement fascicules, concluded.[240]

During the long course of the encyclopedia's finalization, from its first appearance in 1908, the editors began to notice gaps in coverage, and they decided to update the encyclopedia with a supplement, which appeared from 1934–1938. A request for supplement suggestions seems to have been sent in 1930; some of those who answered were R. Levy ("In reply to your printed note, I should like to suggest the following articles") and Henry Farmer ("may I suggest that greater recognition be given to musical instruments").[241] In addition to new articles the supplement also includes substantive corrections to some already existing articles, as, for example, to the article ʿAbbāsids:

> The theory, generally accepted by European historians, of the solemn transfer of the caliphate by al-Mutawakkil, the last Egyptian ʿAbbāsid, to the Ottoman Sulṭān Selīm is devoid of any foundation and has been definitely relegated to the realm of legend by Barthold (*M. I.*, St. Petersburg 1912, i. 203–226, 345–400; see also Becker, *Barthold's Studien über Kalif und Sultan*, in *Isl.*, vi. 250–412). It owes its dissemination to a Stambul Armenian in Swedish service, Mouradgea d'Ohsson, who published it in his *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, Paris 1788–1824, i. 232 and 269 *sq.*; cf. also the articles KHALĪFA and SELĪM I.

This corrigendum concludes with updated bibliography and tables, genealogical and chronological, of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs. It seems that Wensinck could not bring himself to make a correction, or bring nuance, to the Abraham theory that caused such an uproar in Egypt, although detailed commentary on the article and its shortcomings from a Muslim perspective was abundantly available.[242] Nor was the criticism of colleagues such as Edwin E. Calverley, who wrote to Wensinck on June 3, 1931, that "the article on Shi'r is quite unsatisfactory and should be rewritten by one who does not find Arabic poetry 'un-

240. For a bibliography of Wensinck's works, see *Semietische studiën uit de nalatenschap van Prof. Dr. A. J. Wensinck* (Leiden, 1941), 9–12.

241. Letters of, respectively, November 5 and November 6, 1930. LUL, Or. 18.099, Ar. 4915. For Reuben Levy (1891–1966), Professor of Persian at Cambridge University, see F. C. Roberts, *Obituaries from the Times, 1961–1970* (Reading, UK, 1975), 477; Charles Melville, "Great Britain. X. Iranian Studies in Britain: Islamic Period," *EIr*, 11:260–67. For Henry Farmer, see n244, below. Suggestions continued to be received in subsequent years: a letter from R. Ettinghausen dated June 8, 1933, listed entries on art history "für den Ergänzungsband."

242. The Arabic translation of the article in question, which generated the uproar, included "a detailed commentary on the article" (Paret, in *EI2*, 3:980b). For mention of other writings criticizing the Abraham thesis as well as orientalist work in general, see Ryad, "Dismissal of Wensinck"; Hamzaoui, *L'Académie de langue arabe*. In contrast to Rached Hamzaoui's assertion (p. 69, where the date of 1935 should read 1953) that the ill-fated opinion had been deleted in the *Shorter Encyclopaedia* (on which, see chapter two), the entire addition by Wensinck appears there unchanged; see H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers, eds., *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden, 1953, 1974[2]), 155a.

translatable and dull,'" attended to.[243] Nevertheless, aside from the inclusion of internal cross-references, exactly half of the articles in the supplement are original (153), a good number of them on the new—for the encyclopedia—discipline of music.[244]

It was envisioned that the five supplement fascicules would be bound together with a general index, which was suggested to Wensinck by the German scholar of Islamic science Julius Ruska in 1931[245] and had been entrusted to Heffening, the German editor, who worked on it in Bonn with a number of assistants. The project was financed separately by the Academy in Amsterdam. Originally estimated by Heffening in 1932 to take two to three years, Heffening was only able to index the first three volumes before the Second World War broke out in 1939.[246] The Academy ceased its payments in February 1940. Heffening was visited two years later by E. J. Brill's director, Th. Folkers, who encouraged Heffening to recommence his work.[247] Upon Heffening's death in 1944, he left the card index, now totaling approximately three-fourths of the encyclopedia, at the University of Bonn. Although Schaade would press for resumption of work on the index, it was never completed, and is now kept in the Leiden University Library.

Along with the unfinished index, Houtsma's plan to include a lexicon of all the entries in the three separate languages of the encyclopedia—announced in the preface to the *Stichwörter*, published in 1905[248]—also did not come to pass. However, before even the supplement was completed, an effort had begun in 1937 to compile articles focusing on

243. Leiden LUL, Or. 18.099, Ar. 4915. The article Shiʿr was authored by A. S. Tritton (1881–1973), at this time Professor of Arabic at Aligarh Muslim University, who was not known for his scholarship on Arabic literature. Edwin E. Calverley (1882–1971) was a missionary, preacher, and the first Ph.D. student and successor of D. B. Macdonald at the Hartford Seminary from 1930 to 1952; see his obituary by Elmer H. Douglas, "Edwin Elliot Calverley," *Muslim World* 61 (1971), 155–58.

244. All penned by Henry George Farmer (1882–1965), British musicologist specializing in Arabic music; from 1951 until four months before his death, he held the position of Music Librarian at Glasgow University, to which he left his papers. For H. G. Farmer, see Eckhard and Elsbeth Neubauer, "Henry George Farmer on Oriental Music: An Annotated Bibliography," *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften* 4 (1988), 219–66.

245. Ruska to Wensinck, January 21, 1931. LUL, Or. 18.099, Ar. 4916. For Julius Ruska (1867–1949), see his family's website at http://julius.ruska.de.

246. "Ich kann jetzt mit der Anfertigung des Registers in Zeiten der Unlust zu produktiver Arbeit beginnen. Es hat ja mit der Fertigstellung zwei bis drei Jahre Zeit." Heffening to Wensinck, November 7, 1932. LUL, Or. 18.099, Ar. 4916. Kramers recorded that talk about the index began in 1934: Kramers, "Wordingsgeschiedenis," 19–20. See also Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:608–10n166.

247. Theunis Folkers (1879–1950) was director of E. J. Brill from 1934–1947. He was arrested after the war for collaboration (see below, chapter three).

248. "Im Hinblick darauf, dass die Absicht besteht, gleichzeitig mit der deutschen auch eine englische und französische Ausgabe der Encyklopädie zu veranstalten, wurden deutsche Stichwörter, bis auf einige wenige, grundsätzlich ausgeschlossen. Zur Erleichterung des Nachschlagens wird dem Werke ein deutscher (resp. englischer und französischer) Index beigegeben werden." M. Th. Houtsma and Paul Herzsohn, *Verzeichnis der Stichwörter für die Encyklopädie des Islām: Der Buchstabe A (A, ʿA)*, (Leiden, 1905), iv.

Islam as religion from the larger encyclopedia into a one-volume work. This volume was also planned for the trilingual market, and Wensinck, with funds from the Amsterdam Academy, began the selection process. In addition to bibliographies that required updating, the narrower focus of the abbreviated volume opened the way for inclusion of new articles not foreseen in the larger edition; some original articles that were hopelessly outdated, either in substance or in tone, were also replaced by newly written ones. The project was not finished, however, when Wensinck died.

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The first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*—four volumes totaling 4,693 pages[249]—was generally well received. Many reviews were purely descriptive, enumerating the articles that appeared in one or other fascicule. But some offered substantive critique: an early review from 1911 by Carl Heinrich Becker notes the "unbalanced" nature of the articles in the first fascicules up to the letter B ("the one provides well-known, the other completely new material, the one writes long, the other short, the one strives for encyclopedic writing, the other gives an original treatment").[250] After hoping that the "enormous undertaking" will actually be completed, Becker tempers his criticism by remarking that future generations will not even notice the size of the work on account of the benefit they will derive from it. "Unbalanced" is a frequently used adjective to assess the encyclopedia in its early days. A review from the hand of E. Montet in 1913 following the publication of sixteen fascicules agrees ("il y a une grande inégalité dans la valeur des articles"), but opines that since R. Basset joined the editorial board, the situation noticeably improved ("une amélioration sensible").[251] Montet deplores some inconsistencies among articles—for example, the Muslim population of China is listed as 40 million in one and between 3.7 and 7.4 million in another[252]—and aims a swipe at Martin Hartmann, who "completely lacks impartiality when talking of Islam";[253] he also regrets the mention

249. Sundry pages of illustrations, a fifteen-page addendum ("The Samaritan Literature") to the article Samaritans, and the Supplement volume (267 pp.) complement the final product.

250. Carl Becker, in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 15 (1912), 533.

251. Each reviewer is concerned only with his specific language edition; thus Becker mentions Houtsma and his co-editors Schaade and R. Hartmann. Ibid. In theory, of course, the encyclopedia editions reproduced one and the same article, although, as noted below in chapter two, there are significant differences between the French and English encyclopedias of the second edition.

252. The English edition has "perhaps 40 millions" (art. "Arabia," 1:391b), which, given the estimated total population of 400 million in the China article, would have been one-tenth of the population. In the article on China, which tries to give more accurate population figures (1:847b–48b) Martin Hartmann remarks that "Muslims in China used to be very much overestimated. [...] It is remarkable that the missionaries living in the country give very discrepant figures." The estimated total population was on the mark more or less; 430 million in 1912 is given by Albert Feuerwerker, in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 12, *Republican China 1912–1949, Part 1*, ed. John K. Fairbank (Cambridge, 1983), 76.

253. Montet takes exception to the following statement: "Islām is not a religion compatible with civilisation; it is emphatically the bitter enemy of Frankish culture..." (1:854b). Montet, in *Revue historique*

of the translation by Mardrus of "The Thousand and One Nights" as "most complete and exact" and the omission of population figures for Constantinople. A later review of the first volume A–D from the pen of C. F. Seybold, which primarily lists errata, continues the complaint and the parochial sniping, with a jab against English and French lengthy treatment of "special interests," such as Afghanistan and North Africa.[254]

The entire first volume received more lengthy surveys of its contents, with the article China attracting considerable attention. One author (who signed only with his initials, TZ) extensively paraphrases the exact paragraph that includes the sentence that so upset Montet:

> M. Hartmann treats an Islamic problem that has only recently been exposed in his extensive article on China, a country that is about to adopt Frankish culture, but which contains quite a number of elements that belong to the bitter enemy of exactly this culture, Islam. From the previously assumed 30 million, only 5–10 million are left according to the newest estimates, however. Nevertheless, there was talk of the possibility of the Chinese Muslims imposing their religion on the non-Muslim Chinese, that it would end up in a powerful Islamic Chinese empire. Hartmann is of the view that in fact the future of Islam in China cannot be foreseen, [Islam's] victory over the other religions and the rule of Muslims over the other peoples of the country is a dream, to follow which will only bring the Muslims misfortune and destruction. Better for them to follow the reform movement and work towards a regenerated, strong China on an ethnic basis.[255]

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114 (1913), 108–9. For Edouard Louis Montet (1856–1934), historian of religion and in 1913 professor and dean of the Faculty of Protestant Theology at the University of Geneva, see the notice of his death in *Romanic Review* 25 (1934), 185. Per his own words, Martin Hartmann (1851–1918) was indeed extremely antithetical to Islam: "I don't say: 'Islam is the enemy', I don't preach anti-Islamism, but we cannot deny that the phase of development in which the Muslim world finds itself at this moment, is wretched and the primary cause for this is the understanding that prevails over this world, of Islam as a religion. As the peoples of Asia and Africa are dominated by this understanding, they are a constant threat and extremely dangerous for countries of high culture" ("Les Études musulmanes en Allemagne," *Revue du monde musulman* 12 [1910], 536). He did not help his own reputation by criticizing the current state of scholarship in Germany in this same article. For a discussion of Martin Hartmann, see Martin Kramer, "Arabistik and Arabism: The Passions of Martin Hartmann," in idem, *Arab Awakening and Islamic Revival: The Politics of Ideas in the Middle East* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1996), 63–86, and bibl. at n. 1; Suzanne L. Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship* (New York, 2009), 356–61.

254. "Vergleicht man die unendlich langen Artikel von Longworth Dames wie Afghānistān 155–183 [...]. Auch die Franzosen behandeln mit Vorliebe Nordafrikanisches mit unnötiger Breite (bes. Yver). So betreiben verschiedene Nationen auch hier Sonderinteressen [...]." C. F. Seybold, review of *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 7–9 (1920), 189–92.

255. TZ, in *Die Welt des Islams* 1 (1913), 237. Neither TZ nor Montet repeated a further egregious Hartmann opinion (*EI*1:854), which was that "the Muslim nation will be well advised to keep a watch on the Islamic elements in their midst and particularly to prevent their increase by the purchase of Chinese children."

Other critique concerned "the German-English system of spelling and the lack of cross-references" which made finding entries difficult.[256] The latter observation was a particular grievance of this reviewer, Samuel M. Zwemer, who reiterated in a review of the final Supplement volume that "the most necessary adjunct, namely a cross reference index, is still wanting; and those who use the encyclopaedia have great difficulty in discovering under what heading certain subtopics are treated. [...] The concluding fascicule has an especially interesting article by H. A. R. Gibb on *Ta'rikh* which certainly ought to be referred to under the heading of 'History.'"[257] As noted above, an index had been conceived and begun, whether compelled by this reviewer or not, but the disappointing delay in its achievement and a confluence of events—Wensinck's death and the seismic march of boots across Europe, whose footfall in 1939 were only faintly felt across the Atlantic—conspired to doom it to oblivion. This lacuna would be made up for in the second edition.

256. Review by S.M.Z., in *The Moslem World* 9 (1919), 103–4, covering *EI*1, 2:193–256. For Samuel Marinus Zwemer (1867–1952), American Reformed missionary in the Arab heartland for more than forty years, the last seventeen of which were spent in Cairo, founder and editor of *The Moslem World*, and Professor of Missions and the History of Religion at Princeton Theological Seminary (1929–1937), see J. Christy Wilson Jr., *Apostle to Islam: A Biography of Samuel Zwemer* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1952); idem, "The Apostle to Islam: The Legacy of Samuel Zwemer," *International Journal of Frontier Missions* 13 (1996), 163–68; Thomas S. Kidd, *American Christians and Islam: Evangelical Culture and Muslims from the Colonial Period to the Age of Terrorism* (Princeton, 2009), chap. 4.

257. Review by S.M.Z. (see above note), in *The Moslem World* 29 (1939). The reviewer also regretted that errors that he himself had pointed out throughout the years of review were never incorporated into the lists of corrigenda.

Chapter Two
The Second Edition

With the Second World War at an end, the meetings of the International Congress of Orientalists resumed. The twenty-first congress met in Paris from July 23–31, 1948, ending a ten-year hiatus.[1] The Dutch Academy delegate and successor to Wensinck at Leiden, Johannes Hendrik Kramers, was unable to attend, having fallen gravely ill the summer before.[2] Although not on the encyclopedia's editorial board, Kramers had acceded to the Academy's request in 1939 and undertaken to complete the abbreviated encyclopedia editions left unfinished at Wensinck's death.[3] He soon discovered that instead of the originally planned three volumes, one in each of the encyclopedia's languages, scarce finances would allow the publication of only one, which it was agreed would be German.[4] Because of the paucity of funds, certain articles also had to be shortened or scrapped altogether, but in 1941 the *Handwörterbuch des Islam* appeared.[5] As the twenty-first congress approached, Kramers was occupied with the other abbreviated volumes, for which he was trying to secure funds, and in this capacity he kept up a regular correspondence with the two remaining editors of the first edition, H. A. R. Gibb and

1. The previous congress was held in Brussels, September 5–10, 1938.

2. "In the summer of 1947 I was taken by a severe illness from which I am not yet fully recovered." Kramers to Gibb, May 12, 1948. Unless otherwise specified, all citations in this chapter are from the original documentation that constitute the encyclopedia archive, which is in my possession. Kramers was only 57 years old when he wrote these words, but poor health seems to have been a constant; a letter to him from É. Lévi-Provençal dated August 2, 1939 (see fig. 21) also references his being poorly ("I am very sorry to hear that your health leaves much to be desired lately").

3. Prof. Mr. P. Scholten, Secretary of the Academy Board, to Kramers, December 12, 1939: "In verband met het overlijden van Prof. Wensinck zou het bestuur der Afdeeling Letterkunde van de [KNAW] gaarne zien, dat Gij de verdere redactie op U neemt van de beknopte uitgave der [EI]." LUL, Or. 18.099, Ar. 4915.

4. Possibly because it was the most complete at that time and the language Kramers felt most comfortable with.

5. Kramers, "Wordingsgeschiedenis," 20. The *Handwörterbuch* was published by E. J. Brill; to facilitate its use by non-Arabists it included a subject index, which was lacking in the larger encyclopedia.

É. Lévi-Provençal, about matters concerning the encyclopedia, including the possibility of a second edition.[6]

Of these three men—the first editors of the second edition—the oldest was Kramers, who was born in Rotterdam on February 26, 1891. He was drawn to foreign language study, having taken Italian, Russian, and Hebrew in secondary school (in addition, one presumes, to the regular language courses of English, French, German, Latin, and Greek expected of university-bound students). According to his widow, a book by Gerlof van Vloten containing travelogues to Constantinople and Damascus as well as translations of Arabic literature, recommended to Kramers by his teacher, the poet Leopold, stoked his interest in "the mysterious East," propelling him to Leiden in 1909 to seek Snouck Hurgronje's advice as he settled on his university studies.[7] "Foreseeing no future in the study of Arabic alone," Snouck Hurgronje proposed that Kramers instead study law, which he did while taking courses in Arabic on the side, from Arthur Schaade among others.[8] Kramers never earned a degree in Arabic studies, but his doctoral dissertation on criminal proceedings against the Dutch in Turkey was finished in time for him to be posted to the Middle East with an appointment as junior translator (*élève dragoman*) at the Dutch legation in Istanbul in 1915. He learned Turkish from self-study, perfecting it during the six years he spent in Turkey; and he began Persian (Old, Middle, and modern) once he had been appointed Reader (*lector*) of Persian and Turkish at Leiden University in 1921. In 1939 he succeeded Wensinck as Professor of Arabic.[9] Kramers is best known for his Dutch translation of the Quran and for his critical edition of Ibn Ḥawqal's geographical opus.

6. Although a French abbreviated volume was never published, Lévi-Provençal did revise text toward that goal: "Concernant l'Encyclopédie, je vous avais renvoyé les feuilles 1 et 2 avec de nombreuses corrections." Lévi-Provençal to Kramers, August 2, 1939 (see fig. 21). As of Wensinck's death, the French text through Nikāḥ had been typeset. Th. Folkers of E. J. Brill to Kramers, December 28, 1939. LUL, Or. 18.099, Ar. 4915.

7. Biographical details and quotes have been taken from his widow's preface to J. H. Kramers, *Analecta Orientalia: Posthumous Writings and Selected Works*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1954–1956), 1:xi–xv. The story of how Kramers was introduced to Arabic is contradicted by G. F. Pijper (see n112, below), according to whom Kramers came to Arabic through a grammar given him by his Hebrew teacher, the ordained minister Lohr, and was so taken by it that he resolved to pursue his studies in it. See the obituary notice by Pijper, in *Jaarboek der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1951–1952* (Amsterdam, 1952), 225–31. The Dutch poet Leopold, a classicist by training, was an aficionado of Omar Khayyam (and translated his work, "unhindered by any knowledge of Persian," according to J. T. P. de Bruijn, personal communication); he had been a member of the same debating society as Van Vloten (see chapter one, n62) when they were both at Leiden University. See also C. C. Berg, "J. H. Kramers, In Memoriam," *Acta Orientalia* 21 (1953), 241–42. The book by Van Vloten in question is *Oostersche schetsen en vertalingen* (Amsterdam, 1900).

8. Pijper, in *Jaarboek der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1951–1952*, 226.

9. Officially, Professor of Arabic and Islamic Institutions ("instellingen van de Islam"). Preface to Kramers, *Analecta Orientalia*, 1:xiii.

The English editor, Hamilton Alexander Rosskeen Gibb, was born in Alexandria on January 2, 1895. When his father, who managed the Aboukir Land Reclamation Company there, died two years later, his mother chose to stay on. At five years of age, Gibb was sent back to Scotland for four years of private tutoring and eight years of schooling, only visiting Egypt on two summer holidays. He began his university studies reading Semitic languages at Edinburgh University in 1912, but his degree was interrupted by the outbreak of the war in 1914 and service in the British army.[10] After the war Gibb returned to his studies at the newly founded School of Oriental Studies in London where he was appointed Lecturer in 1921, obtaining his M.A. degree there one year later. He was promoted to Reader in 1929, then Professor of Arabic upon the death of Thomas Arnold a year later, whom he also succeeded as editor of the encyclopedia. He left in 1937 for the Laudian Chair of Arabic at Oxford, succeeding D. S. Margoliouth.[11] Gibb went on to become James Richard Jewett Professor of Arabic at Harvard University in 1955,[12] where he also directed and breathed life into its Center for Middle Eastern Studies. After a stroke in 1964 Gibb returned to England, where he died in 1971. Gibb was an influential historian of the Middle East, whose works and students shaped the field for years to come.

Évariste Lévi-Provençal was born in Algiers,[13] on January 4, 1894, into a North African Jewish family. He began his studies at the University of Algiers where he studied under René Basset and the classicist Jérôme Carcopino. The First World War interrupted his studies; gravely wounded, he recovered in the area around Morocco's Rif, where, according to Régis Blachère, his destiny as Arabist was forged.[14] In 1920 he accepted an

10. His notes on several courses he took between 1912 and 1914 are to be found in the Harvard University Archives.

11. For David Samuel Margoliouth (1858–1940), British historian of early Islam, see Gibb's obituary notice, in *JRAS* 3 (1940), 392–94.

12. Gibb was also appointed University Professor, the highest recognition bestowed upon a faculty member at Harvard. Gibb's biographical data have been culled from Albert Hourani, "Hamilton Alexander Rosskeen Gibb," in *A Century of British Orientalists, 1902–2001*, ed. C. E. Bosworth (Oxford, 2001), 155–83; George Makdisi, "Biographical Notice," in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb*, ed. G. Makdisi (Leiden, 1965), xv–xvii; and the obituary notice by Ann K. S. Lambton, in *BSOAS* 35 (1972), 338–45. See also W. R. Polk, "Islam and the West," *IJMES* 6 (1975), 131–47.

13. Erroneously given as Constantine (where he went to grammar school), in *Historical Dictionary of Morocco*, ed. T. K. Park and A. Boum, 2nd ed. (Lanham, MD, 2006), 218. For the confirmation of Algiers, see Wasserstein, in *al-Qanṭara*, cited below. For obituary notices, see those by Régis Blachère, in *Arabica* 3 (1956), 133–35, and in *Les Cahiers de Tunisie* 4 (1956), 7–8, and by E. García-Gómez, in *Etudes d'orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1962), 9–15. For an appreciation and examination of his life, see David Wasserstein, "Evariste Lévi-Provençal and the Historiography of Iberian Islam," in *The Jewish Discovery of Islam: Studies in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, ed. Martin Kramer (Tel Aviv, 1999), 273–89, and its follow-up, "Nota Biographica: Maklouf Levi and Evariste Lévi-Provençal," *al-Qanṭara* 21 (2000), 211–14.

14. "Là, au contact de la terre et des hommes, É. Lévi-Provençal voit se confirmer sa vocation d'arabisant." Blachère, in *Arabica* 3 (1956), 133.

appointment at the Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines, in Rabat, where he finished his studies. After a stint in Egypt Lévi-Provençal was appointed to the faculty of the University of Algiers in 1935, having cemented his name as a scholar of Islamic Spain with the publication three years earlier of *L'Espagne musulmane au Xème siècle*. During the Second World War he was nominally attached to the University of Toulouse, where he worked on the first volume of his monumental *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane* (Cairo, 1944; 3 vols., Paris, 1950–1955), and then went to the Sorbonne in Paris, where he taught until his death on March 23, 1956, at the age of 61. In addition to the above seminal works, Lévi-Provençal founded the journal *Arabica*.

1. Constancy, 1948–1956

1.1. *Kramers's Contribution, 1948–1951*

Originally not supportive of a second edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, which he thought should not be attempted until a longer intervening period of research into the field had elapsed, Kramers came around to the idea while collaborating with Gibb on the English abbreviated volume.[15] In contrast, Gibb was in favor of a new edition but not of the abbreviation of the older work. In a letter of January 1946 that accompanied two pages of "comments on the revised sheets of A" for the shorter work, he wrote:

> I have never, as you know, been much in favour of Wensinck's plan of extracting the articles relating to the religion from the larger work and issuing them separately, and it was only because of his insistence that I agreed to it. My objections were partly based on the fact that several of these articles were not very good, and the older ones especially were often out-of-date, and partly that I was doubtful whether such a selection would meet the needs of a wider clientèle. I still feel these objections very strongly.[16]

As if to underscore his objections, Gibb's comments on the older articles were short and sharp. Regarding the article ʿĀʾisha he wrote, "Seligsohn's allotment of a who[l]e page to the Safwan incident is wholly out of proportion, and I think it could be more heavily cut," and as for Akbar, "Delete the third paragraph—it is an absurd affectation to make such sweeping historical judgements."

He returned to his theme a few months later:

15. "But you thought it very important that a new edition of the complete Enc. should be prepared. I was not as enthusiastic as you, because I thought that the stage in which Islamic science would need a new Enc. would be reached only after a period of special researches had intervened." Kramers to Gibb, May 12, 1948.

16. Gibb to Kramers, January 14, 1946. LUL, Or. 18.099, Ar. 4915.

> It still seems to me a rather doubtful venture, however. As you have said, the original English edition sold very well; this means that all important public and private libraries have a set of the complete work, and most of them will not in consequence buy the shorter book, even if a certain number of articles are rewritten and new ones added. Something would depend upon the price, of course—but that is likely to be high. In the second place, if there are funds available for printing, they could be better employed in preparing a new edition of vol. A–D of the full work—which would be bought by libraries, and so supply the means for continuing the revision.[17]

Kramers revisited the idea of a second edition when he resumed his correspondence with Gibb after the health scare of the summer of 1947. He announced that he would have to skip the congress, which he much regretted "because I shall be prevented from meeting old friends [and] one of my chief preoccupations is that in Paris there will probably be some talk about the Encyclopedia of Islam [...]."[18] He proceeded to tell Gibb of the genesis of the encyclopedia and its troubles with subventions as he had learned it from Houtsma's report, which he had updated and published in the 1941 Yearbook of the Leiden Oriental Institute.[19] Although the preparation of a second edition "would not need now such an excessive long time, as there is already an established tradition available," the financial situation would still have to be tackled, and "it seems impossible that the necessary funds can be raised at this moment from a great number of learned societies on account of the prevailing economic conditions." Nevertheless, the Dutch Academy was willing to give its support to the organization and E. J. Brill was again prepared "to print the new edition and to take a more or less extensive financial interest." Depending on the languages in which such a new edition would be published, the editors would have to be named by a "committee of orientalists." Kramers asked Gibb to consider potential collaboration from Turkey and Egypt, seeing that a translation of the first edition was being undertaken in both countries. Finally, Kramers recognized that envisioning the new edition along the same lines as the first showed "a lack of phantasy"; although the possibility of a more comprehensive encyclopedia of the Near East, including the ancient Near East, had been suggested, he himself did not think it "wise to deviate very much from the already trodden paths."

Thus, immediately after the war two encyclopedia projects were in the air; one—the new edition—was just a kernel of an idea and required consensus on the part of the

17. Gibb to Kramers, April 25, 1946. LUL, Or. 18.099, Ar. 4915.

18. Kramers to Gibb, May 12, 1948. According to his widow, Kramers greatly enjoyed attending congresses both at home and abroad, and regularly gave a talk. Kramers, *Analecta Orientalia*, 1:xiii.

19. Kramers, "Wordingsgeschiedenis." In this letter of May 12, 1948, we learn that Houtsma's report was intended to be translated into German, English, and French and published as a preface in the last encyclopedia volume of the first edition.

scholarly field to take shape and the other—the abbreviated edition—was nearly fully formed, having been begun and partially completed a few years previously. Although Kramers and Gibb promoted opposing projects, they were each moving toward the other's view. Kramers acknowledged that there were reasons not to wait too long to publish a second edition:

> one being that the first volume and a part of the second volume of the E.I. are much inferior in general in comparison with the aftercoming parts. Moreover, if the re-editing of the E.I. should be undertaken, it is likely that this publication will assume a character of continuity, something like a publication of "Archives", and this of course would be of considerable help to all students in this field.[20]

To convince Gibb of the attractiveness of finishing the abbreviated volume in English, Kramers reported that E. J. Brill was prepared to reset the two-thirds volume that had already been prepared of the English text before the war but had been "stolen by the Germans, who needed the lead," and that since the articles for the remainder were all in place, it would take very little time to bring out the volume.[21] For his part Gibb emphasized that he had "taken opportunities to discuss some points with certain of our colleagues. There is a quite definite wish on our part to see a new edition of the main Encyclopedia started, especially for the earlier letters of the alphabet." As for the abbreviated form,

> I have also consulted my friends on this side, but I have no very precise idea, since I have no copy of the German edition and have only seen the cover of it. The response, however, was very favourable, and I should certainly be ready to collaborate with you in completing and bringing out the English edition. Indeed, I should go further, for it would give very great pleasure to be working once again in association with you.[22]

Kramers arranged immediately for E. J. Brill to send Gibb both a copy of the *Handwörterbuch* and the proofs of the English edition that were already prepared. It seems to have had the desired effect. With only ƒ4,685 left over from the first edition—of which ƒ2,000 was in stocks and ƒ285 was reserved for eventual costs,[23] which meant that the English volume had to be abbreviated even further—and despite periods of ill health and finally

20. Kramers to Gibb, May 12, 1948.

21. Ibid.

22. Gibb to Kramers, June 6, 1948 (fig. 23).

23. M. E. 't Hart, Administrator, Dutch Academy, to Kramers, July 5, 1948. The Dutch Academy later granted ƒ4,400 toward publication costs. *Jaarboek der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen 1950–51* (Amsterdam, 1951), 75.

the death of Kramers in 1951, the *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, as it was called, was published in 1953 by E. J. Brill.[24] Right before it was published, a question of protocol was brought up by A. J. W. Huisman, who had continued in his capacity of assisting on the *Shorter Encyclopaedia* after Kramers's death.[25] In a letter to the Academy dated April 21, 1953, Huisman writes that the preliminary pages posed an unexpected difficulty:

> It concerns namely the copyright—from the proof, enclosed herewith, it seems, in my opinion, that the firm of Brill has the copyright of it which is not correct. I know for a fact that the authors' rights of the large Encyclopedia of Islam rest with the Academy. Because the small one almost exclusively consists of an excerpt from the big [work], I would therefore conclude that the Academy also owns the authors' rights to the small one. Now, the firm of Brill, which I notified of this, wants me to believe that the addition "Copyright etc." is only a formality, but because I am not an expert in this field, I don't dare make a decision about this.[26]

He received an answer three weeks later that the Academy board had met to discuss this but since there was no contract assigning the rights, it did not want to object to the copyright phrase on the preliminary pages. The Academy recommended that Huisman insist on his right to reprint the work, and should a reprint be desirable at a later stage, to then get in touch with the Humanities division of the Academy to conclude a contract that would cover it.[27] This question of copyright would be raised again at a later date, once the editors noted that a copyright notice giving copyright to E. J. Brill had suddenly been inserted into printed versions of the second edition without consultation (see below).

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24. The *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* contained forty-five sheets in contrast to the fifty-two of the *Handwörterbuch*. Kramers to the Academy, November 2, 1950, LUL, Or. 18.099, Ar. 4915. It also contained some new articles not in the German—Kramers gives as example the article Djināza (corrected to Djanāza in the second edition) (also suggesting that Minorsky's Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ, erroneously writing Ḥaḳḥ, could be abridged as it was overly long). Kramers to Gibb, June 18, 1948.

25. August Jan Willem Huisman (1917–1983), known as Guus, worked in various capacities in the Oriental reading room of the Leiden University Library, in 1944–1946 and from 1954 until he retired in 1980. He began assisting Kramers on the *Shorter Encyclopaedia* in 1951, at which time he also administered the Leiden office of the encyclopedia when Samuel Stern moved back to Oxford (see below). See the obituary notice by S. A. Bonebakker, in *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 1 (1986), 100–102; and the short notice upon his retirement by Jan Just Witkam, both accessible online at respectively www.islamicmanuscripts.info/reference/articles/Bonebakker-1986-memoriam-Huisman.pdf, and www.islamicmanuscripts.info/files/Witkam-1980-Vertrek-Huisman.pdf.

26. Huisman to Academy, Leiden University Library, Or. 18.099, Ar. 4915. Confirmation that the Academy owned the copyright of the text can be found in a letter from C. C. Berg to M. E. 't Hart of January 18, 1952 ("Zoals U bekend is, verschijnt de Encyclopaedie van de Islam onder de auspiciën van de Ned. Kon. Akademie, en bezit de Akademie ook het eigendomsrecht van de tekst.")

27. Prof. Mr. F. de Vries to Huisman, LUL, Or. 18.099, Ar. 4915.

There was consensus at the Paris congress to begin preparations for a second edition and to hold a meeting in April 1949 of delegates from the funding Academies and the current editorial committee.[28] From the correspondence back and forth it is clear that little concrete was decided other than this. In answer to a suggestion by Kramers to invite Arthur Schaade to take part in the discussions, as "former editor and still much interested in the matters of the encyclopaedia,"[29] Gibb answered that the question of German collaboration had been touched on:

> There was some strong feeling against it. Though I have no very decided opinions in the matter myself (except that I think there can [be] no question of reissuing the Encyclopaedia in German), it seems to me that it would be better, on the whole, to leave the question of German association in the work to the meeting in April. If the delegates then decide in favour of it, no objection can be taken in any quarter and some friction will be avoided; and it would be more satisfactory for the Germans too, I think, if the invitation were issued by the whole conference.[30]

Without mentioning Gibb's resistance to the possibility of a German edition when he wrote to Schaade on October 30, Kramers dutifully passed on Gibb's report of "strong feeling" against German participation in the encyclopedia and his recommendation to bring it up before the larger committee. Kramers himself felt that commencement of the second edition without German collaboration would be impossible. Schaade had been pressing to have the index fiches that Heffening had prepared of the first edition transferred from the Bonn University library to Leiden, and to reimburse Heffening's widow, who "had disposal over them" and whose situation after the war was penniless,[31] but Kramers shot down the theory that Heffening's widow had any right to the index, for which work Heffening had been paid and which thus was owned by the Dutch Academy. In addition, he wrote, there was no money.[32] Nevertheless, Kramers wrote Schaade, if a provisional budget was prepared for the second edition, a small sum might be included

28. *Actes du XXI^e Congrès internationale des orientalistes, Paris, 23–31 juillet 1948* (Paris, 1949), 39. It may have been at this meeting that Lévi-Provençal proclaimed with a great flourish that no French scholar would write for the encyclopedia if there was not a French edition. Taken from the foreward by E. J. van Donzel to Charles Pellat, *Une vie d'arabisant* (Paris, 2007), [9], where the date of the congress is given erroneously as 1949. See below, n43.

29. Kramers to Gibb, October 13, 1948.

30. Gibb to Kramers, October 17, 1948.

31. "[M]aar dat Heffenings weduwe, die in Cloppenburg (Oldenburg) woont, nog de beschikking erover heeft. [...] Heffening is moeder van drie dochters en heeft, naar hetgeen Spies mij schreef, al haar eigendom verloren [...]." Schaade to Kramers, October 8, 1948.

32. Although there was some money, as noted above, the deciding factor in Kramers's refusal must have been that Heffening had already been paid and the index was now—twelve years after the last volume appeared and still incomplete—of little interest.

for "Heffening's personal difficulties" and Kramers would make efforts in this direction if the occasion arose.

By the end of January 1949 the Dutch Academy had agreed to send out the meeting invitations to fellow Academies and the French editor Lévi-Provençal was also on board with the proposed course of action. The remaining matters—which Academies would receive an invitation; the exact wording of the invitation; whether particular academicians, e.g., García Gómez of Spain, would be invited, instead of leaving it up to the Academies to send a representative; and the meeting's agenda[33]—must have been resolved in fairly short order as the meeting took place on April 5, 6, and 7, 1949, in Snouck Hurgronje's house in Leiden (fig. 9), which had been bought by the university upon Snouck Hurgronje's death in 1936 and leased to the Oriental Institute.[34]

In addition to Gibb, Kramers—representing respectively the British and Dutch Academies—and Lévi-Provençal, present at the meeting were also (in alphabetical order): C[ornelis] C[hristiaan] Berg (Dutch Academy); Emilio García Gómez (Real Academia de la Historia de España); Giorgio Levi Della Vida (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei); Henri Massé (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres); Henrik S. Nyberg (Swedish Academy); and Johannes Pedersen (Danish Academy) (fig. 8). The Norwegian Academy and the American Council of Learned Societies in Washington, DC were the only two organizations invited that did not send representatives.[35]

33. All mentioned as action points in a letter Kramers wrote to Gibb, January 25, 1949.

34. The meeting's location is confirmed in a report in *Al-Andalus* 14 (1949), 250–51 ("Las reuniones se verificaron en la sede del Oostersch Instituut, Rapenburg 61, Leiden, bella casa del siglo XVIII, que anteriormente perteneció al difunto maestro de los orientalistas holandeses Prof. Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje"). Jan Brugman writes (in *Tuta sub aegide Pallas: E. J. Brill and the World of Learning* [Leiden, 1983], 39) that the decision to publish a second edition was made "at the house of Kramers in Oegstgeest shortly after the War," which information he had from a personal communication by F. C. Wieder, "Brill's manager at the time" (Wieder was adjunct-director in 1949, becoming director on April 1, 1958). For information concerning Snouck Hurgronje's house after his death, see *Oostersch Instituut Jaarverslagen 4 (1934–1940)*, 27–28, where we also learn that Snouck Hurgronje's books and manuscripts—the latter totaling some 900 pieces (pp. 63–64)—were donated to the Leiden University Library. A short announcement of the meeting appeared as well in the Leiden daily newspaper *Leidsch Dagblad* of Wednesday, April 6, 1949, which was prompted by the reception given for the occasion in the Snouck Hurgronje house on the prior evening.

35. Thus in the *Al-Andalus* report, from which I have taken the information about the meeting since it provides a bit more detail than Kramers's report of the proceedings sent to the two unrepresented Academies. According to a letter from Kramers, neither institution ever answered the original invitation (of February 3, 1949, sent under the signature of Prof. E. M. Meyers, President of the Section of Literature of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences). Kramers to M. E. 't Hart, April 26, 1949. The silence of the American Council of Learned Societies was cleared up in July 1949 when a letter was received from Mortimer Graves, the administrative secretary, explaining that he had been eight months in the Near East and had only just found out about the meeting upon his return.

The outcome of the meeting, which was chaired by Pedersen, was that E. J. Brill, represented by its director N. W. Posthumus,[36] would publish the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, the copyright (*propiedad literaria*) of which belonged to the Dutch Academy, in a simultaneous English edition of 1,500 copies and a French one of 1,000, to comprise five volumes of 1,250 pages each, with a maximum of one hundred figures and maps. Subventions from scholarly institutions would again be called upon to pay for editorial costs and honoraria for the contributors. The executive committee would be made up of those present, possibly opening up to others, while the editorial board would comprise Gibb and Lévi-Provençal, who retained their roles as editors of their respective editions, and Kramers as the resident editor, or coordinating editor (*rédacteur-coordinateur*), as the full title read,[37] in Leiden. A financial committee was also set up, composed of Berg, Gibb, and Lévi-Provençal, as well as one or two members of the Dutch Academy still to be named, to study the question of subsidies.

At the Paris congress a year earlier there had been discussion concerning the appropriateness of an organization such as UNESCO, founded directly after the war, actively collaborating in a union with the orientalist societies, as proposed by the Dutch.[38] The subject had also been raised in a letter by Kramers to Gibb, who had not responded favorably:

> You refer to the possibility of organizing an Orientalist 'International' which would be eligible for obtaining subsidies from U.N.E.S.C.O. I had the opportunity of attending a conference in Paris during the spring in which this same matter was discussed, with reference to another branch of studies, and I had consequently some insight into the conditions which are demanded by U.N.E.S.C.O. On returning to England, I laid the matter before the Executive Committee of the Association of British Orientalists—who would presumably become the British unit of an International Organization—and our Committee was unanimously opposed to participation in an organization which would permit political and other influences to interfere with the programme and publications of a scientific body.
>
> In point of fact, we have very little faith in U.N.E.S.C.O. in this country, and we should be prepared to accept almost any conditions which would enable us

36. Nicolaas Willem Posthumus (1880–1960), a foremost scholar of social and economic history at the University of Amsterdam. He took emeritus status in 1949 and directly afterward became E. J. Brill's director, having held the post in an interim role since the arrest of the previous director, Th. Folkers.

37. "[E]en redactiecommissie [...] waarin ik de schone titel heb van rédacteur-coordinateur." Kramers to Schaade, August 26, 1949.

38. "[L]e Comité exécutif de la Netherlands Oriental Society a pris l'initiative heureuse d'élaborer un projet pour l'établissement d'une union des sociétés orientalistes en coordination avec l'U.N.E.S.C.O." *Actes du XXI^e Congrès internationale des orientalistes, Paris, 23–31 juillet 1948*, 34.

> to continue our collaboration in the Encyclopaedia without any kind of association with U.N.E.S.C.O.[39]

The notes of the Paris meeting make no mention of such forceful feelings. Although Gibb is reported to have entered into the "exchange of views" that followed the reading of the proposal, he brought an end to it by suggesting that the final assembly of the Congress ratify a motion that the permanent international committee study the matter and report back at the next meeting.[40] Regarding the encyclopedia itself, the UNESCO representative at the meeting in Paris was in any case little encouraging—when told that the International Congress of Orientalists had expressly supported the encyclopedia, he opined that UNESCO would not have been able to collaborate on such a project.[41]

While politics certainly played a role in the decision to discontinue the German edition,[42] it appears that most were in favor of discontinuing the French edition as well, continuing only in English. This idea was discarded after a furious Lévi-Provençal insisted that no French scholar, including himself, would ever contribute to the encyclopedia if published only in English.[43]

Although E. J. Brill's role in the second edition never seemed to be in question, a letter to Kramers dated April 25, 1949, on the letterhead of J. B. Wolters Publishing Company in Groningen, in the north of the country, suggested that it could have been. The letter thanked Kramers for information relating to Arabic and Persian dictionaries, which it hoped "they would succeed in acquiring," and proposed discussing, in complete confidence, E. J. Brill's price quote for the encyclopedia when the correspondent was next in Leiden. The signature is unfortunately illegible, but the tone of the letter implies that the sender was at least an acquaintance. There is no answer and no reference to any meeting

39. Gibb to Kramers, June 6, 1948.

40. The motion was adopted. *Actes du XXI^e^ Congrès internationale des orientalistes, Paris, 23–31 juillet 1948*, 38. The matter was indeed raised in Istanbul in 1951; see below.

41. "M. Mayoux a exprimé l'opinion que l'U.N.E.S.C.O. n'aurait pas pu coopérer à la réalisation d'une oeuvre de cette sorte." Ibid., 35. The UNESCO delegate at the Congress might well have been Jean-Jacques Mayoux (1901–1987), Professor of English Literature at the Sorbonne from 1951 until his retirement in 1973, and Director of UNESCO's International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation in 1946 (see Joanne Pemberton, "Towards a Society of Minds: From the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation to UNESCO," paper read at "60 Ans d'histoire de l'UNESCO," November 16–18, 2005, abstract online at http://portal.unesco.org/fr (search author, first and last name).

42. For the impact of both world wars on German collaboration in international ventures, see chapter four, below.

43. This story was transmitted via Pellat to Van Donzel (see above, n28). When the latter retold the story to a French audience forty-five years later, at a memorial service in 1993 for Pellat, there was loud applause for Lévi-Provençal's stand (personal communication). The publisher was also in favor of discontinuing the French edition.

in the archives,[44] and, indeed, there would have been no reason for Kramers to consider changing publisher, even if another had been able to offer more attractive terms.

Upon hearing of the initiative to publish a second edition, Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid, the President of the Fouad I Academy of the Arabic Language—which rescinded Wensinck's appointment to its board in 1933—wrote to Kramers on the 16th of April 1949 to express the Academy's joy at the news.[45] He proposed that Kramers send the publications and an explanation of the method used in revising the work; that Muslim specialists collaborate in the new edition; that an Egyptian representative be appointed to the editorial committee; and that the encyclopedia be simultaneously published in Arabic. He received a kind letter in return, dated May 25, in which Kramers, among other things, answered that a simultaneous Arabic edition was a desideratum but was dependent on proper financing, and once preparations were more advanced he would welcome any advice Luṭfī al-Sayyid might have in this regard. This earned Kramers a remonstration from Gibb, who pointed out in a letter of June 12 that it

> is extremely dangerous to enter into any discussion at this moment with various societies in the Oriental countries, but I realize that it cannot be entirely avoided. Your answer to the Fouad I[er] Academy was very tactful, but I think it was a mistake to link up the question of an Arabic edition with finance. This gives an opening to suggestions which ought to be firmly excluded from the outset; and in any case the order of words in an Arabic edition makes any simultaneous publication impossible. May I suggest that in future it would save you much trouble and perhaps be better to send a general acknowledgment, pending the decision of either the Editorial Committee or the Comité de Direction.

In the same letter Gibb makes mention of his talk with the director of the humanities division of the Rockefeller Foundation. Although interested, the Rockefeller Foundation "made it quite clear that [it] would not bear the entire costs of the edition," and Gibb suggests that correspondence with the Academies be initiated immediately in order to gauge the amount of their financial support, so that an estimate of what needed to be asked of the Rockefeller Foundation could be made by the time of the meeting of the financial committee, planned for November.

Confusion reigns with regard to the financial committee, which, according to what was agreed at the April meeting five months earlier, should have included Gibb, Lévi-

44. A penciled marginal note on the letter, presumably by Kramers, reads "wrote again 28 [May]"—the month is not completely clear—which seems to imply that Kramers never answered.

45. "Nous ne pouvons manquer de nous réjouir de cette nouvelle initiative [...]." For Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid (1872–1963), Egyptian nationalist and intellectual, director of the National Library, rector of the Egyptian (later Cairo) University, and a founder of the Umma party, see his autobiography, *Qiṣṣat ḥayātī* (Cairo, 1962); the article Luṭfī al-Sayyid (C. Wendell), in *EI*2 (5:838f.); and the obituary notice by Gilbert Delanoue, in *Revue des études islamiques* 31 (1963), 89–103.

Provençal, Berg, and two representatives from the Academy; it did not meet in November, nor in the months thereafter.[46] Kramers appears to have been under the impression that any meeting with Gibb and Lévi-Provençal constituted an editorial meeting and that the finances were a matter to be ironed out solely by the Dutch parties, which included himself. On October 3 he wrote Gibb that

> the financial side has not yet been settled, as our committee has not yet been able to meet. This will be done now in the beginning of October, but I expect that there still will be considerable difficulties before a definite agreement has been reached between our Academy and Brill. The financial expert who has been appointed on the committee on behalf of the Academy is very critical toward Brill's propositions, so that it may take some time before the Academy is satisfied.
>
> I do not know if it would not be better to postpone the projected meeting with Lévi-Provençal. If by half October the financial matters are settled, we could meet in November, but I doubt if this will be possible. I shall write you as soon as possible when we have met.

On the same day, Kramers wrote in a similar vein to Lévi-Provençal[47] and also to Posthumus, asking him for the print-run and the sales of the first edition—which Posthumus answered on October 14 were respectively 750 copies for each language edition and all but thirty copies of the French. These figures were requested on behalf of J. G. Koopmans, a member of the Academy who had been named to the committee to examine the budget.[48] Kramers was well aware, however, of the composition of the financial committee and that it was to convene a meeting, as he had informed Schaade of this when he resumed correspondence with him in August 1949, sending him in strict confidence the report of the first editorial meeting, which included the members of this committee.[49]

46. An "autumn" meeting was also on Lévi-Provençal's calendar: "En particulier le projet de nouvelle réunion à Leyde en automne, avec notre collègue Gibb, tient-il toujours?" Lévi-Provençal to Kramers, September 27, 1949. The Rockefeller Foundation would go on to grant a $15,000 subvention (see below).

47. "Je ne pourrais pas encore dire si le comité de rédaction pour la nouvelle édition de l'EI pourra se réunir en novembre. La raison est que les affaires financières n'ont pas encore éte réglées." Kramers to Lévi-Provençal, October 3, 1949.

48. The "financial expert" Kramers alluded to in his letter to Gibb. The exact identity of J. G. Koopmans is not known, but it is very likely Johan Gerbrand Koopmans (1900–1958), economist and at this time professor at the Netherlands School of Economics (later, Erasmus University), since 1946 a member of the Dutch Academy. See the biographical notice, in *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland* (The Hague, 1985), vol. 2 (*1880–2000*), accessible online, under Resources, at www.historici.nl. A penciled note with these points (presumably from Kramers), recording a telephone call on September 14, 1949, from Koopmans, listed a third question as well—what the gross and net income of the first edition sales were—but it was not posed to Posthumus by Kramers.

49. "De voorlopige afspraak met Brill, dat deze de gehele uitgave voor zijn rekening neemt, maar dat

The only editor's reference to the short-lived finance committee of Gibb, Lévi-Provençal, Berg, and the Dutch Academy members is by Lévi-Provençal seven months later, who himself no longer recalls the exact composition of the committee:

> I am awaiting, as you promised it to me, the letter that you were supposed to send me after the meeting of your financial committee. But this meeting could have taken place with our participation since, if I remember correctly, Gibb and I make up part of this financial committee along with you.[50]

As mentioned, Kramers sent Schaade in August the detailed report of the April editorial meeting. Kramers understood his coordinating role on the editorial committee to include co-opting German scholars for the second edition. The secrecy of his actions would seem to belie the accuracy of his judgment, however, especially since the report records the agreement to accept German contributors only on an "individual basis," suggesting that those who had actively supported the losing side of the war would be unwelcome. To perhaps paint the situation as less German-unfriendly than it was, Kramers specifically mentioned that the meeting had agreed that at a later date a German scholar on the executive committee was a desideratum. He also asked Schaade for suggestions for the list of entries and for names of German scholars who were thinking along these lines. Schaade answered on the 20th of September with a long letter that had many recommendations, including of a copy-editing nature as concerned the report. He wrote that he would be at the annual meeting of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft in Tübingen the coming week and would like to present a general account of the planned publication if he would be allowed to.[51] As he sent a summary of what he had announced at the conference to Kramers afterward, hoping that he had not overstepped his authority, it seems that he was given the green light.[52] Half of the announcement, including mention of the envisaged later involvement of a German orientalist in an executive committee "made up of nine orientalists, namely, two Dutch, two English, one American, two French, one Danish,

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de kosten der honoraria en der redactie uit subsidies moeten worden opgebracht is zeer eenvoudig en zal vermoedelijk door het financiele comité wel worden aangenomen. Dit laatste moet intussen nog vergaderen [...]." Kramers to Schaade, August 26, 1949, in which letter he enclosed the minutes of the April meeting.

50. Lévi-Provençal to Kramers, May 11, 1950. Kramers's somewhat apologetic response, on May 14, 1950, was: "Nous avons eu une réunion des membres néerlandais du comité financier, où nous avions déjà décidé de faire de nouvelles propositions à Brill, qui impliqueraient en tout cas qu'il se charge également du paiement des honoraires des auteurs. Peut-être serait-il mieux d'attendre de lui soumettre ces propositions jusqu'à ce que nous ayons parlé avec vous et avec Gibb."

51. Schaade to Kramers, September 20, 1949.

52. "Ik hoop dat ik de gewenschte perken niet te buiten gegaan heb [*sic*]." Schaade to Kramers, October 15, 1949.

and one Swedish," was left out of the later printed announcement, however.[53] For all that, Schaade is more concerned in his letter with the ill-fated index of the first edition and brings two heavyweights, Otto Spies and Helmuth Scheel,[54] to bear to buttress his side. Even their arguments—that it would be at least fifteen years, per the prognosis made at the April 1949 meeting, before the second edition would be finished, while scholars were using the first edition now; that it would require simply a year or eighteen months of work to render the index into shape for printing; and that many owners of the first edition were waiting to have their supplement fascicules bound until the "promised" index reached them, which made using the supplement awkward—did not have the desired effect.[55] Schaade would continue to press the point in each of his missives, but to no avail.[56] For the Germans the index must have been a source of national pride, perhaps a way after the horrors of the war to link their name once more with the encyclopedia. This might have been the exact reason why it was not received very well. There is, however, no clear-cut answer in the documentation for the resistance.

53. The missing excerpt of the announcement appeared in a reprint from the *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Fouad I University* 11, part II (Dec. 1949), sent to Kramers by Enno Littmann, under the heading "Enzyklopädie des Islâm von Pro. Dr. Schaade, Hamburg": "Prof. Schaade berichtete auf Grund privater Informationen aus Holland über den gegenwärtigen Stand der Vorbereitungen zur Herausgabe [...]." F. Ḥ. ʿAlî, *Bericht über den deutschen Orientalistentag, Tübingen 1949 (vom 30. September bis 1. Oktober)* (Cairo, 1949), 181. On the reprint is a handwritten dedication ("Mit besten Gruss. E. Littmann") and a penciled "s. S 181" referring to the page with Schaade's announcement. For Enno Littmann (d. 1958), see chapter one, n234, above.

54. For Otto Spies (1901–1981), Orientalist and scholar of legal studies, professor at Bonn University from 1952 until his retirement, and editor of *Zeitschrift für vergleichend Rechtswissenschaft* and *Die Welt des Islams*, see the obituary notice by Heinrich Schützinger, in *ZDMG* 133 (1983), 11–13; W. Hoenerbach, ed., *Der Orient in der Forschung: Festschrift für Otto Spies zum 5. April 1966* (Wiesbaden, 1967), vi–viii. For Helmuth Scheel (1895–1967), an Ottomanist, editor of the *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* from 1939 to 1952, and director of the Prussian Academy of Sciences in Berlin at this time, see the lemma in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 22 (2005), online at www.deutsche-biographie.de.

55. For the actual argument about the index made at the meeting, see the Report of the Meeting, in *ZDMG* 99 (1945–1949), 293, accessible at http://menadoc.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/dmg.

56. October 7, 1949; May 28, 1950 ("May I on this occasion ask whether at the meeting of the Oostersch Genootschap the question of the index of the first edition was raised, the difficulties of which you detailed so extensively in your letter of Nov. 4, 49?"); June 25, 1950 ("There [the DMG meeting of August 31, 1950] will probably be occasion to learn what other foreign colleagues think about the desirability of the index of the first edition. Its desirability, or better, necessity was recently again apparent to me when I wanted to find out something about predestination in Islam [...]."); and August 16, 1950 ("That Mr. Posthumus is not keen on the index of the first edition of the EI doesn't surprise me. He is after all a businessman and is little interested in enhancing and extending the use of the first edition now that the second is coming. But that Gibb and Lévi-Provençal share this opinion too is somewhat surprising").

There was very little progress on the encyclopedia for a year after the first meeting, due to both a dissatisfaction with the financial demands of E. J. Brill and another spate of ill health for Kramers during the winter. On May 11, 1950, Lévi-Provençal wrote Kramers:

> A few days ago Mr. Posthumus came to visit me during a trip he made to Paris. He seems to me very eager to see the matter of the Encyclopaedia reach a successful conclusion. [...] Between us I had the impression that Brill, for whom the matter presents an evident commercial interest, would be prepared [to offer] a bigger financial outlay than that which we ended up having him accept. In other words, I wonder whether presenting something like a "take-it-or-leave-it" [proposition], Brill [then] wouldn't agree to take on all the costs of the enterprise, that is, besides the actual costs of publication, the costs of a secretariat, of translation, and of the honoraria of contributors, which we had estimated at our plenary meeting.[57]

In the same letter Lévi-Provençal suggested the dates of May 30 and 31 for a second editorial meeting, given Gibb's preference for convening one before his upcoming eight-week summer stay at Harvard University, where he was "conducting a course on 'social and cultural problems of the Near East,'"[58] even if the meeting was held only to still the rumor that the second edition had been snuffed. Since Kramers did not have medical leave to travel, the meeting was duly held on those dates in Leiden. At this meeting, at which were present the three editors and Brill's director Posthumus, the latter agreed to pay an annual ƒ10,000 for two years to support secretarial help, to be repaid if subventions allowed, and the decision was taken to invite some scholars to propose entries or updates for the second edition.

In between bouts of ill health on the part of Kramers during the rest of the year, some steps were taken, the most important of which was the appointment of Samuel Miklos Stern as editorial secretary.[59] Although other names had come highly recommended, notably that of Lothar Kopf, extolled by Martin Plessner in Jerusalem, who had him in mind for possible editorial assistance along the lines of Schaade on the first edition, Gibb's

57. Lévi-Provençal to Kramers, May 11, 1950.

58. Gibb to Kramers, October 4, 1950. Of his own course, he said that it was "well attended and extremely interesting." At this time, "it [was] very good news that [Kramers was] back at home and feeling ready to resume work"—Gibb hoped that he would "not be tempted to run any risks of strain." This is one of the few inklings given of Kramers's illness, which apparently required a hospital or rehabilitation stay.

59. For Samuel Miklos Stern (1920–1969), a polymath Hungarian-born scholar of Islam who wrote his doctoral thesis under Gibb at Oxford, and who long remained professionally under-appreciated, see the obituary notices by R. Walzer, in *Journal of Jewish Studies* 20 (1969), 3–4, and in *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972), 1–14, by J. Wansbrough, in *BSOAS* 33 (1970), 599–602, and by L. P. Harvey, in *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 47 (1970), 57–59; as well as a bibliography, compiled by D. Latham and H. Mitchell, in *Journal of Semitic Studies* 15 (1970), 226–38.

preference for his own student seems to have won the day.[60] Gibb spoke to Stern immediately after his return from Leiden, and wrote to Kramers:

> He has, of course, certain difficulties which must be resolved about passports or entry visas, but I hope that we shall be able to get over these, and in that case he is willing to spend a year in Leiden in this secretarial capacity. He does not, in present circumstances, wish to engage himself for more than a year – which will, of course, be agreeable to Professor Posthumus – but I am quite sure that he should be able, in the course of one year, to carry out a great deal of the preparatory work. [...] His living requirements are modest, but I do not think he should receive less than 5,000 fl. a year for his services.[61]

In his application for a work permit for Stern, Kramers had to justify not hiring a Dutch citizen. He had looked for one, he wrote, but there were too few Dutch students and none had as yet acquired the necessary knowledge. His goal, however, was to hire one, or someone repatriating from the East Indies, in a year's time when Stern had finished his term.[62] Having received the work permit, Kramers was able to send a letter of appointment to Stern, requested by the latter along with some clarification of the conditions of employment. Stern would receive a salary of ƒ400 per month ("about the equivalent of £40. If it should prove to be not enough we are ready to give more. But probably the amount will be amply sufficient for your needs"); lodging "in the Archeological Institute" ("I can not say exactly how much this will be per month, but I know that it is quite cheap for circumstances here"); and travel costs from England (which "will be probably paid back to you in Dutch guilders").[63] Stern's travel ran into difficulties, however, as the Dutch embassy refused to give him a visa on his Palestinian passport, demanding that he submit an Israeli one.[64] Despite his appeal to an acquaintance at the Ministry

60. Plessner to Kramers, May 25, 1950 (received and answered June 1, 1950) and July 5, 1950. Lothar Kopf (d. 1964; he was 32 in 1950) would go on to head the Oriental Department at the Hebrew University Library and make his mark in Arabic and Hebrew lexicography. See E. Ullendorff, *The Two Zions: Reminiscences of Jerusalem and Ethiopia* (Oxford, 1988). For Martin Plessner (1900–1973), from 1955 Professor of Arabic Language and Literature, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, see his entry in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 16:237.

61. Gibb to Kramers, June 13, 1950.

62. "Ik heb inderdaad in de eerste plaats omgezien naar een nederlands arbeidskracht. Het aantal dergenen die oosterse studien bij ons bedrijven is gering. Er zijn op het ogenblik alleen enkele studenten die nog niet ver genoeg zijn voor dit werk. Mijn streven is er echter op gericht om over een jaar, wanneer de afspraak met de heer Stern afloopt, een Nederlandse orientalist beschikbaar te hebben, hetzij een van de tegenwoordige studenten, die dan ver genoeg zal zijn, hetzij een van de eventueel uit Indië repatrierende orientalisten." Kramers to the Director of the Regional Employment Office in Leiden, August 3, 1950.

63. Kramers to Stern, August 21, 1950, in answer to a letter from Stern to Kramers, August 17, 1950.

64. Stern emigrated to Palestine from Budapest in 1939 where he began his studies at the Hebrew

of Foreign Affairs, Kramers could effect little change. Gibb was most upset, apologizing later to Kramers if he "seemed too emphatic, but I feel very strongly indeed about the way in which present-day bureaucrats (and not only Dutch ones) are completely indifferent to the human problems of the people they deal with."[65] Stern was issued a visa for a month, according to a postscript by Gibb on October 23—perhaps the work of Kramers's acquaintance—and would arrive early November; an Israeli passport was issued shortly after the new year.

Despite the delay, as of October 1 Stern had begun to classify the entries of the first edition by subject and to prepare a card-index of entries, those both written and omitted. He took the latter from "the Turkish edition [and] from a personal survey of various subjects, such as, for instance, Shiism and Hispano-Arabic Literature."[66] This card-index was the beginning of the lemmata for the second edition, and was reproduced later in booklets called Grey Books (figs. 18, 19), which were continually added to.

The "Turkish edition"—*İslâm Ansiklopedisi*—was the authorized translation of the first edition begun by a committee made up of faculty members of the Faculty of Letters at Istanbul University in 1939, under the auspices of the Turkish Ministry of Education. The translation was augmented with newly written articles by Turkish scholars, and by additions and updates to the older articles, in order to present more—and more current—coverage of Turkey-related subjects. The thirteen-volume encyclopedia, which like the first edition appeared in fascicules, was finished in 1988. As predicted in Harold Bowen's review, dated 1941, the second edition relied on the scholarship of the Turkish edition, although never going so far that it published a translation of an article.[67]

Having learned that permission had been given for both an Arabic[68] and a Turkish encyclopedia, the new year of 1951 opened with a flurry of letters from, on behalf of,

University in Jerusalem, completing his degree in 1947 after a three-year stint during the war working for British censorship services in Baghdad and Port Sudan. He left for Oxford in 1948 to study under Gibb, and later became a naturalized British citizen.

65. Gibb to Kramers, October 22, 1950.

66. "Report of the Secretary, for the months October–November 1950."

67. H. Bowen, Review of *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, *JRAS* 2 (1944), 197–98. For an appreciation of the work involved in the Turkish translation, see Adnan Adıvar, "Mukadimme," *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1940), 1:xv–xxi (Engl. trans., omitting the last five pages, in *The Muslim World* 43 [1953], 280–82). A rival encyclopedia, entitled *Türk-İslam Ansiklopedisi*, was begun in 1941 by a group claiming that the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* was a Christian missionary and anti-Islamic work. Its fascicules were accompanied by "a magazine supplement containing violent and often scurrilous criticisms of the current fascicules of the other encyclopaedia which were meanwhile issuing from the Ministry." Bernard Lewis, "Islamic Revival in Turkey," *International Affairs* 28 (1952), 40. For a review of both Turkish encyclopedias, see Niyazi Berkes, "İslam Ansiklopedisi ve Türk-İslam Ansiklopedisi," *Yurt ve Dünya* 2 (1941), 113–21.

68. An Arabic edition was begun but never finished. According to Jan Just Witkam, the then Curator of Oriental Manuscripts at Leiden University Library, who went to Cairo in 1997 on behalf of Brill to assess an unauthorized translation of the encyclopedia sponsored by Sheikh Sultan bin Muhammad

and to Mohammad Shafi, emeritus Professor of Arabic at the University of the Panjab in Lahore, Pakistan, and now "Chairman, Editorial Board, Encyclopaedia of Islam in Urdu," requesting Kramers's influence in persuading the Royal Dutch Academy to permit the translation of the first edition into Urdu.[69] No influence was required, as the Academy had no objection. The Urdu edition of the encyclopedia began appearing, also in fascicule form, in July 1959.[70] Displaying again a tendency to unilateral action and rash promises that had irked Gibb a few years earlier, Kramers wrote Shafi that he

> would be very glad if we could establish some kind of collaboration in our enterprises. We could communicate to you our new articles as they appear. On the other hand you could give us considerable help by signalling to us articles relating to Pakistan, which have not been inserted in the first edition. Furthermore we are looking for experts who could help us with articles in Persian and Urdu literary subjects and history as far as India is concerned. Also articles on mysticism and popular Islam in India.

Before the new year announced itself, however, an editorial meeting was held in Leiden on Thursday, December 7, 1950. At this meeting, at which were present the three editors and Samuel Stern, a list of thirty-one persons was drafted to whom the list of categories—presumably that which Stern had made—would be sent for suggestions of entries within the categories. The editors aspired to finalize the entries for the first volume, A–C, by March 1951 and by May, before the next meeting of the executive committee, to have

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Al Qasimi, the ruler of Sharjah, "the 15-volume pre-World War II Arabic translation of *EI* (no publisher indicated), entitled *Da'irat al-Ma'arif al-Islamiyya*, edited in Arabic by Ahmed al-Shantanawi, Ibrahim Zaki Khorshid, Abd el-Hamid Yunus and Hafiz Galal [...] has remained incomplete and has as its last article *'Arif Basha*, with *'ayn*. This translation contains almost all articles of EI, neatly translated by a choice of Egyptian scholars." It was followed by a sixteen-volume "reprint and new edition of the above, published in the 1960's by Dar al-Sha'b in Cairo." Due to a larger type, the sixteen-volume work was more incomplete than the original, and the article on Khudabakhsh was the last to appear. Private report, pp. 3–4. The Brill Near East catalogue no. 453 (1972) lists a fourteen-volume reprint (A–Ṣ) of the 1933 ed. (tr. Aḥmad Thabit Alfandi and Ibr. Zaki Khurshid a.o. [Cairo, n.d.]) for sale under the entry "Encyclopaedia of Islam" (no. 255). Its price was *f*600 for the set. A personal communication from Joed Elich, publishing director at Brill, in March 2015, related a new on-going Arabic translation enterprise of the second edition, headed by Tunisians.

69. Shafi to Dutch Academy, January 9, 1951; Kramers to Shafi, January 25, 1951; H. Kraemer to Kramers, January 29, 1951; Shafi to Kramers, January 31, 1951. For Hendrik Kraemer (1888–1965), emeritus professor in the Theology Faculty at Leiden University, at this time the director of the Ecumenical Institute of the World Council of Churches, see Jacques Waardenburg, *Classical Approaches to the Study of Religion: Aims, Methods and Theories of Research* (Berlin, 1999), 643; Daniel Gold, *Aesthetics and Analysis in Writing on Religion: Modern Fascinations* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2003), 138–41. For Mohammad Shafi (1883–1963), see the obituary notices in *The Pakistan Review* 15 (May 1967), 33; *Islamic Studies* 2 (1963), 141–42.

70. For more on the Urdu edition, see M. Hamidullah, in *Die Welt des Islams* 6 (1961), 244–47.

chosen the contributors for these entries and their approximate size. In addition, the contributor's honorarium was set at ten guilders per column.[71] E. J. Brill's director was invited to take part in the discussion concerning the amount of subsidies required for the first volume, the outcome of which was that a definitive budget had to be prepared before the requests for subvention could be sent, in particular because American foundations "had the habit of asking for plans and detailed accounts before they would take the requests addressed to them under consideration."[72]

The executive committee meeting convened in Paris on May 21 and 22, 1951. A seven-page working paper of six points of an editorial nature was on the agenda (see below). Perhaps because the larger committee was to meet in Paris, Lévi-Provençal had been very busy prior to this May meeting. He met with French scholars in Paris at the end of January[73] to work on the list of entries, and in February he attended the meeting of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique de France (CNRS), which at his urging agreed to set aside an annual subvention of one million francs for the encyclopedia in its next five-year plan.[74] In addition, he proposed the creation of an annual week during which Arabists—Muslims and non-Muslims—would come together, one year in a European center of "orientalism" and the other year in "a city of a Muslim, Arab-speaking country, or [one] having been in the course of its history occupied by Muslims" (among which he included cities of Andalus, Sicily, and Malta), to discuss matters of Arab philology, literature, and political and social history. The "Semaine des Arabisants" would complement the International Congress of Orientalists, the function of which, because of the enormous size of the field of Oriental studies,

> now seems singularly out of date, and which moreover is held only at infrequent intervals, no longer allowing fruitful and continued liaison between specialists of Islamic studies and Arabic studies in particular. Moreover, the conferences being open to a large number of participants, of obviously unequal scholarly worth, the quality of communications is not always of the first order.[75]

The proceedings from each "Semaine" could be published in a scholarly journal, called, for example, "Arabica." Although the week did not take form as Lévi-Provençal had hoped, *Arabica*, under his editorship, did; its first issue was published by E. J. Brill in 1954.

71. This amount did not change until the mid-1990s; see below.

72. Taken from a report in French on encyclopedia letterhead, dated December 1950, with five points that were the object of discussion at the editorial board meeting of that month.

73. The French-language report has "vers la fin de janvier 1950," which must be a simple error in the year since the report covers the preparatory work between November 1950 and May 1951.

74. Thus in a report dated May 23, 1951; in a letter to Kramers dated February 9, 1951, Lévi-Provençal notifies him of an annual subvention for five years of 500,000 to one million francs.

75. General letter from Lévi-Provençal sent to colleagues in the field, May 7, 1951.

Added to the executive committee in May 1951 were George C. Miles, an American member from the American Council of Learned Societies; Enno Littmann, from the University of Tübingen; and the director of E. J. Brill, N. W. Posthumus, the latter two in their individual capacity.[76] The committee was also enlarged with ten associate members from Muslim countries: Adnan Adıvar, Istanbul; A. A. A. Fyzee, Bombay; Hasan Husni Abdalwahhab, Tunis; Hasan Taghizade, Teheran; Husain Djajadiningrat, Jakarta; Ibrahim Madkour, Cairo; Khalil Mardam, Damascus; Muhammad Shafi, Lahore; Naji al-Asil, Baghdad; and Emile Tyan, Beirut.[77] Although after the early years their presence was mostly forgotten,[78] the addition of Muslim scholars from Muslim countries as associate members was used to the encyclopedia's advantage when accusations were made against the lack of Muslim participation. Other than the decision to allow associate members to take part in the executive meeting's plenary session, made in Copenhagen, September 1955, and new appointments upon the death of an associate member (which practice ended in 1964), no executive discussion of the associate members is found in the archive.

After approval of the editorial board's report and the addition of members, a lively debate (*vivement débattue*) ensued among the committee members regarding changes to

76. Adding a German member was still controversial so that Littmann's appointment had to ensue without institutional backing. Paul Kahle was cynical about the appointment. To Littmann he wrote: "I am, I think, the last to begrudge you an honor. But can one really regard your election as member of the international committee of the Encyclopaedia of Islam as an honor? Early in 1951 already I discovered from a very reliable source how it came about at the Paris meeting (1950). They perceived then that they had to elect a German for the larger committee of the EI and agreed to Levi Provençal's [*sic*] proposal to choose you, since they then could be sure to have a German, pro forma, one whom they could be sure would not interefere in anything, would consider it in general a matter of honor, and because of his age would not want or even think about becoming a member of the editorial committee and actively take part in the work of the EI. You were chosen in order to keep German participation in the EI out." Kahle to Littmann, August 29, 1955. Kahle went on to remind Littmann about Gibb's not being pro-German and "I need say nothing about Levi Provençal and Schacht." For Enno Littmann, see chapter one, n234; for Paul Kahle, see n129, below.

77. Adnan Adıvar died in 1956 (and was listed as "the late" through volume three) whereupon M. Fuad Köprülü was added. Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting, September 19 and 20, 1956.

78. In 1981, Josef van Ess—at that time, chair of the executive committee—asked about the status of two members: "Noch etwas: Unter den Associated Members, taucht seit jeher Herr Naji al-Asil auf. Lebt er eigentlich noch? Ich habe mich bisher mit der makabren Frage zurückgehalten; aber ich meine zu wissen, dass er schon vor etwa 20 Jahren, bei der Revolution gegen Qasim, ums Leben gekommen ist. Auch von Fyzee hörte ich, dass er gestorben sei; aber auch das habe ich bisher nicht verifizieren können." J. van Ess to Van Donzel, November 2, 1981. Fyzee had indeed just died, October 23, 1981 (see the obituary notice by Ismail K. Poonawala, in *IJMES* 14 [1982], i), al-Asil had died in 1963 (see chapter four, n24), and another humiliating omission was discovered upon publication of volume nine in 1997 when it turned out that Émile Tyan—continually listed since the first volume—had died twenty years earlier. By 1998, the number of associate members had dwindled to three, Inalcik, Nasr, and Talbi. Van Donzel to N. Mout and M. Stol of the Dutch Academy, March 28, 1998.

the transliteration method that was used in the first edition. There were proponents of the change to a system of one Latin letter for each other-script letter, and others who felt that the present system could be maintained with only small changes, e.g., *j* instead of the ligature *dj*—which, it was noted, was "used by nobody else, or almost so"—*ay* instead of *ai*, *iyya* instead of *īya*. The path of least resistance was adopted;[79] and for a reason only known to the committee the adopted changes did not include the ligatures, which were kept, and which continued to be used by nobody else, or almost so. Another discussion point was the desirability of comprehensive versus detailed articles—the English system versus the German one, as L. A. Mayer wrote,[80] revisiting a question already posed by Snouck Hurgronje to Goldziher as early as 1894.[81] An example was offered by the editors for discussion:

> Stars. First edition has numerous small articles about the names of stars, which in most of the cases do not go far. It seems much preferable to give instead, extensive lists of stars and constellations, accompanied by the necessary comments. This comprehensive article should go under NUDJUM, references to which there will come instead of the present articles. By giving a rounded out picture such an article is apt to be much more instructive than the present atomistic titles and as an additional gain the same bibliographical references, such as [...], need not be repeated in dozens of articles. – Query. How far should one go in inserting references to the main article? Is it enough to convert the present titles (with a few necessary adjustments) or should one multiply the references?[82]

Another editorial matter brought to the table for discussion by the larger board was the consistent use of "Oriental catchwords," which had not been the case in the first edition with regard to names of towns ("even at the risk of occasional pedantries, e.g., Shanta-

79. "On finit par décider qu'il n'y aura pas de changement principiel dans le système de translittération adopté dans le première édition de l'Encyclopédie." From the minutes of the May 1951 meeting.

80. "[W]ith other words whether you prefer the English system of general articles and a minimum of details or the German one of major article [*sic*] being merely a guide to numerous small items which contain the essence of the knowledge imparted on a given subject." As cited in the editorial committee seven-page discussion agenda of May 1951. For Leo Aryeh Mayer (1895–1959), Sir David Sassoon Professor of Near Eastern Art and Archaeology at the Hebrew University, who wrote extensively on heraldry, epigraphy, and numismatics, see the obituary notice by D. S. Rice and H. Z. Hirschberg, in *Ars Orientalis* 4 (1961), 454–62.

81. "Möchtest du möglichst viel in einen Artikel zusammenbringen um dann bei zahlreichen andern Artikeln bloss den Gegenstand anzugeben und auf die umfassende Abandlung hinzuweisen? Oder ist deine Absicht bei der Erwähnung eines umfangreichen Gegenstandes nach verschiedenen kleineren Artikeln zu verweisen." Snouck Hurgronje, *Scholarship and Friendship*, 150.

82. Discussion paper, 2. Other examples were Calendar, Food, and Dynasties. The discussion paper was perhaps penned by Stern, as the English is not that of Gibb's precise manner in his letters.

mariyat al-Gharb") but which presented problems for concepts that did not have an obvious equivalent, Ornament, for example, or Metalworks. "To camouflage occidental words by their modern Arabic translation has no purpose." Then again,

> It would be useful to introduce, to a certain degree, points of view foreign to Islam [*sic*] civilization. In concrete terms: articles like Sociology (*not* Idjtimāʿīyāt !) or Economics (*not* Iḳtiṣād) and other terms of the modern sciences of history and religion.[83]

Claude Cahen wrote to recommend that cross-references in the language of the edition be included so that the articles could be accessed by nonorientalists, for example, "fellah would correspond to paysan, peasant; for maʾ, we should also put eau, water,"[84] which was supported by the editors; with regard to cross-references to persons, the question was how much of the personal name besides the obvious one under which the entry appeared would be helpful (Régis Blachère "demanded explicitly" that a cross-reference to Abū l-Ṭayyib be included for al-Mutanabbī[85]). Finally, a discussion took place as to the merits of dividing the Islamic world into "great units" for geographical and historical summaries, since in the first edition some obvious regions had failed to be included. How exactly to call and treat diverging premodern and modern units of geography, e.g., Mā Warā l-Nahr versus Turkestan, and the size that should be allotted to each were also matters that required a solution. No specific agreement is recorded, and the issues continued to defy a consistent approach, especially in light of the fifty years that it took to complete the second edition and the fickleness of historical memory.

The final agenda items were administrative and financial. As to the former, the proposal by the editors to have an office in Leiden, Paris, and Oxford was approved, and agreement was reached that invitations to contributors would be sent once the financial basis for the project was ensured. Regarding the budget, it was estimated that £3,500 would be required annually to cover the costs of the three offices (£1,100, 600, and 600

83. Discussion paper, 4. This is an interesting acknowledgment at a very early date of the budding interest in the field of contemporary "cultural" social sciences, which went unrecognized after this meeting.

84. Ibid. For the French historian Claude Cahen (1909–1991), see the obituary notice by Bernard Lewis, in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 141 (1997), 219–20; and the biographical sketch by his son Michel Cahen, "L'historien et le politique: Engagement et pensée scientifique chez Claude Cahen," in *Itinéraires d'Orient: Hommages à Claude Cahen* (= *Res Orientales* 6), ed. Raoul Curiel and Rika Gyselen (Paris, 1994), 385–442. Issue 43 (1996) of *Arabica* was also devoted to an appreciation of his work.

85. For Régis Blachère (1900–1973), French scholar and Professor of Arabic Literature at the Sorbonne at this time, translator of the Quran into French, see the obituary notice by David Cohen, in *Journal Asiatique* 262 (1974), 1–10. The plenitude of advice from French scholars must be due to the physical meeting Lévi-Provençal had with them in January, along with the "ownership" felt by the fact of the meeting taking place in Paris; see text at n73, above.

respectively), honoraria for translators (£400) and contributors (£600), and travel for the editors (£200).[86] The sleeping financial committee, to which G. C. Miles was added as a member, would send requests for subventions, for the time being for a period of five years.

Gibb was happy to report after his return ("I think we had a most successful meeting, and feel very optimistic now, after the doubts with which I went to Paris") that the British Academy had voted to give £200 as an annual subvention to the encyclopedia, beginning in the second half of the year.[87] Formal letters requesting grants were sent on June 1 under the signatures of B. A. van Groningen[88] and Kramers on behalf of the financial committee, whose list of members as given does not include G. C. Miles.[89] They included calculations by E. J. Brill to the effect that over a period of twenty years the entire enterprise of a multi-volume, bilingual edition would total ƒ2,779,000 (approx. $694,750; Kramers was calculating four guilders to one US dollar at that time). The publisher estimated its expenses to come to ƒ200,000, which it "intended to reserve" for financing the enterprise. With subsidies, the price of a 64-page fascicule was provisionally set at ƒ12 (ca. $3), without at ƒ18 (ca. $4.50). A handwritten note from Lévi-Provençal to Kramers dated June 13 reported back that a vote for the potential CNRS grant of one million francs, being part of the 1952 budget, would only be taken in ten to twelve months.

By July 1951 the responsibilities of the offices were further delineated. There would be a general secretariat, consisting of Samuel Stern in Oxford and A. J. W. Huisman in Leiden.[90] The former would occupy himself with the lists of entries and of prospective contributors to be approved by the editors; the latter would be responsible for sending out invitations, getting the manuscripts in on time, preparing them for typesetting, dis-

86. According to an online inflation website, inflation.stephenmorley.org, £1 in 1951 bought the equivalent of £31.50 in 2017.

87. Gibb to Kramers, May 27, 1951.

88. For Bernhard Abraham van Groningen (1894–1987), papyrologist, Professor of Greek at Leiden University, and chair of the Division of Letters of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences from 1949–1964, see the obituary notice by P[ieter] J. Sijpesteijn, in *Jaarboek 1988* (KNAW), 118–24. The titles given for him underneath his signature are "President of the Netherlands Academy" and "President of the Financial Committee." The former seems to be a translation of exigence rather than equivalence.

89. Four such letters are found in the archives, two dated June 1, 1951: one in English to the American Council of Learned Societies in Washington, DC and the other in French to Victor Tourneur, Secrétaire Général, Union Académique Internationale (UAI) in Brussels. An answer from Tourneur, who signed as Secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie royale de Belgique, notified Kramers that separate letters had to go to each academy that was a member of the UAI. Two letters dated June 30, 1951, were sent to the CNRS and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris; before they were sent, Lévi-Provençal commented on the drafts. These letters included the signatures of the French members of the executive committee, H. Massé and Lévi-Provençal.

90. For Huisman, see n25, above.

tributing proofs to all parties, and all correspondence. Both would answer to Kramers. Meanwhile, Gibb and Lévi-Provençal would each have a secretary to assist them.

Kramers was well enough in the summer to travel to Istanbul for the Twenty-Second Congress of Orientalists, held September 15–22, 1951. He met up with his fellow editors there, despite each having had reservations about going in the previous months.[91] Kramers spoke in the opening assembly on the progress of the second edition, at which time he made an "urgent appeal to all Islamicists to collaborate [with the executive committee] to the largest extent possible [and] to forward all suggestions that present themselves regarding the arrangement and the economics of the new edition without waiting even to be invited by the editors."[92] In the proceedings of the Istanbul congress, a summary of Kramers's talk as relayed by Gibb was printed; not surprisingly, the last paragraph, which contained the somewhat reckless offer to entertain every possible suggestion regarding the scale and scope of the second edition, was replaced with a more considered one:

> Professor Kramers concluded his statement by expressing the thanks of the Editorial Committee to those scholars of all countries who had given effective and generous cooperation in the work of preparation, and the hope that the new edition would bear witness to the same spirit of scientific collaboration.[93]

The committee that had been tasked at the last congress in Paris with working out the details concerning an international union of orientalists, to which Gibb had been vigorously opposed when Kramers first mentioned it, presented its results. Gibb himself presided over the proposal, which was ratified in the concluding assembly.[94] The Union, which would have its seat in Leiden, would provide the institutional body that the Congress was not, to represent orientalists' aims and objectives. Thus, for instance, it would be the organ to go through for funds, rather than another body such as UNESCO.

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91. "En ce qui me concerne je ne suis pas très disposé pour m'y rendre." Lévi-Provençal to Kramers, June 19, 1951. Gibb decided at an even later date to attend—a letter from Stern to Kramers dated September 3, 1951, while the latter was en route, relates that Gibb "writes that after all he will perhaps ["probably" was first written and crossed through] go to Istanbul and see you there!" Although recognizing that Kramers was "no doubt overwhelmed with all kind of affairs," Stern also reports about work, in particular that proofs of articles by Joseph Schacht for the *Handwörterbuch* had been found in a cupboard at E. J. Brill's, unfinished, as well as "a very good and extensive article by Lewicki on Ibaḍiyya [*sic*], a précis of which only was printed [...]."

92. "Rapport sur l'Encyclopédie de l'Islam," added by hand: "lu le 15 septembre 1951 dans la Séance d'Ouverture du XXIIème Congrès International des Orientalistes à Istanbul."

93. *Proceedings of the Twenty Second Congress of Orientalists, held in Istanbul, September 15th to 22nd, 1951*, ed. Zeki Velidi Togan (Istanbul, 1953), 59. Kramers's actual presentation was on "The Sociology of Islam" and, in particular, its place within the second edition. Ibid., 85–95 (repr. in *Acta Orientalia* 21 [1953], 243–53).

94. *Proceedings of the Twenty Second Congress of Orientalists*, 207. For the transcribed discussion of the proposal in the third general session, 129–37.

The editorial committee held another meeting in Leiden from October 18–20, 1951, at which both Stern and Huisman were present. The financial situation was rosy: British institutions and universities had combined to ensure £700–£800 for the first five years, while the French had at their disposal some 200,000 francs for the coming year, as an advance on the subsidy amount requested from French institutions. The committee was optimistic about receiving positive answers from the other bodies that had been applied to—French governmental institutions, UNESCO, and American foundations—and the finance committee would be asked to write each individual academy represented by a member of the executive committee. Due to the promising financial situation it was decided to begin immediately with the invitations. The rest of the meeting was taken up with discussing and approving the list of contributors for the first fascicules.

This contented state of affairs was rudely jolted when Lévi-Provençal received the draft of the letter of invitation. He was shocked at the encyclopedia stationery, which at the top listed the secretaries and their addresses and at the base had the following running line:

> Correspondence relating to the preparation of articles should be addressed to Oxford; manuscripts, proofs, correspondence concerning the administration to Leiden.

He had been under the impression that the secretariat would be anonymous and in any case, he wrote, an address in Paris was glaringly missing, seriously offending French or French-speaking contributors. After adding a few words to the effect that Stern's tone in correspondence was disagreeable, even insolent, Lévi-Provençal proposed that the header simply mention the general secretariat with its address at Rapenburg 61 in Leiden[95] and that it be duly instructed in the footer of the stationery to send all the correspondence there, to be distributed by Huisman.[96]

This set off a flurry of letters. Although it was "a rather roundabout way of proceeding," Gibb was "inclined to accept [Lévi-Provençal's suggestion] in order not to create any friction,"[97] but Kramers was not disposed to have all the correspondence forwarded from Leiden and he regretted that Lévi-Provençal had not brought up the subject during the October editorial meeting. In the end the editors met halfway: the Leiden secretariat would be printed at the top of the page followed in smaller letters by a Paris address (that of the Institut des Études Islamiques, Lévi-Provençal's office) and the Oxford address, and

95. Snouck Hurgronje's residence, in which the Oriental Institute—and later, the University's Department of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish—was housed after his death in 1936.

96. Lévi-Provençal to Kramers, November 2, 1951. Although generally speaking relations between the French and the other editors were smooth, French feathers were often ruffled in the course of the fifty-five years of the second edition. For a major upset in the 1990s, see further below.

97. Gibb to Kramers, November 10, 1951.

a paragraph in the "communiqué" would explain Stern's move to Oxford, the division of labor among what was now two offices, and the future provision of a French secretariat.[98] Urged to provide details of Stern's irritating style, which Kramers attributed more to an "excess of zeal,"[99] Lévi-Provençal wrote of a recent example, that of Charles Kuentz, director of the French Institute of Cairo, who received a letter from Stern requesting his collaboration while at the same time berating him for being slow to publish the posthumous works of Paul Kraus.[100] Kramers dismissed this complaint:

> It falls, of course, entirely outside of the Encyclopaedia. You yourself remarked at our last meeting that we could not be sure of being able to count on Kuentz's collaboration. I have just written him a very polite letter reminding him of his promises. I would be obliged if you would tell me who the others are who were irritated by Stern's letters. If the matter is truly so serious, we should obviously take some measures, but for the moment I don't see the need.[101]

In the midst of this Lévi-Provençal could report that the Algerian government had pledged an annual subvention of 200,000 francs for five consecutive years and that he had received a firm promise of funds from "Cultural Relations." As Gibb had done in August upon receipt of the first British funds, Lévi-Provençal opened up a special bank account to administer the French monies.

Kramers died one month later, on December 17, 1951, at the age of sixty. There had been no mention by correspondents or by himself of ill health on his part since the early summer, and no mention of what his illness was and what he died of;[102] his death is noted in the archives by a simple printed announcement bordered in black sent by his family, postmarked December 18 and addressed to Huisman, and by the addition of an unadorned paragraph to the "communiqué" announcing his death on behalf of the editorial committee. This announcement would stand as model for future notifications of the death of any contributor to the encyclopedia, slipped into the earliest fascicule.

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98. Kramers to Lévi-Provençal, November 24, 1951.

99. Kramers to Gibb, November 5, 1951.

100. "[T]out en lui demandant sa collaboration, lui faisait véhémentement reproche de n'avoir pas encore publié les travaux posthumes de Paul Kraus." Lévi-Provençal to Kramers, November 16, 1951. For a biographical account of Paul Kraus (1904–1944) and for a brief history of his papers, see Joel Kraemer, "The Death of an Orientalist: Paul Kraus from Prague to Cairo," in Kramer, *Jewish Discovery of Islam*, 181–223.

101. Kramers to Lévi-Provençal, November 19, 1951.

102. "His indefatigable labours [on the encyclopedia] seriously impaired his health and during the last three years of his life he had to restrict his activities." J. Ph. Vogel, *The Contribution of the University of Leiden to Oriental Research* (Leiden, 1954), 39; "In August 1947 he suffered the first attack of the ailment that would ultimately lead him to his grave." Pijper, in *Jaarboek der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1951–1952*, 230. And see above, n58.

Though it must be the impression given by the vagaries of an incomplete textual archive, Kramer's passing seems to have barely caused a ripple. Ten days later Posthumus wrote Berg that "as agreed" he had asked Gibb and Lévi-Provençal whether Berg's taking over the management of the encyclopedia in the interim was acceptable to them, and he was now writing to invite him to do so. Reinforcing the stereotype of an avid mercenary Dutch culture, he added,

> Professor Gibb also wrote me that he had received an encouraging letter from the Executive Director of the American Council of Learned Societies "to say that he has every hope of obtaining a subvention for the Encyclopaedia". What else could one want?[103]

1.2. *The Duo of Gibb and Lévi-Provençal, 1952–1954*

As noted, Berg unofficially took over the responsibilities of coordinating editor upon Kramers's death and in this capacity an early recorded act is a letter addressed to the registrar of Oxford University, asking for information as to when Gibb was expected back in England and on what days Lévi-Provençal's lectures were planned.[104] Ostensibly Berg needed to make arrangements for a date on which he would give a lecture at the School of African and Oriental Languages, but actually he was very eager to have everyone together at the same time so that he could invite P. Voorhoeve, curator of the Oriental manuscripts at the Library of Leiden University, to a proposed editorial meeting as Kramers's successor.[105] However, upon his return to Oxford, Gibb immediately vetoed the idea of asking Voorhoeve to the meeting. His stated reason was that a successor would be chosen

103. Posthumus to Berg, December 28, 1951. The ACLS did come through with $5,000 for 1952 and $3,000 a year for the next four years. Charles Odegaard, Executive Director ACLS, to B. A. van Groningen, Netherlands Academy, January 21, 1952. C. C. Berg (1900–1990), was Professor of Javanese Language and Literature at Leiden University, 1929–1949. During the Second World War, Berg was interned in a Japanese camp, having traveled to Indonesia in 1938 to undertake dialectal research. He returned to Leiden in 1946, becoming chancellor of the university in 1948; after a three-year administrative stint, he returned fulltime to his duties as professor, but now of Bahasa Indonesian, in 1951. See the obituary notice by J. J. Ras, in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 147 (1991), 1–11 (bibliography follows, pp. 12–16). Charles E. Odegaard (1911–1999), medieval historian, was executive director of the ACLS from 1948–1952, then professor and dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Michigan until 1958, and from 1958 until his retirement in 1973, president of the University of Washington. See his autobiography, C. Odegaard, *A Pilgrimage through Universities* (Seattle, 1999).

104. Berg to "The Registrar, University, Oxford," April 18, 1952. Notably, Stern—whom Berg suggests to the registrar "may know about Professor Gibb's arrangements" since he is Gibb's assistant—was not asked first for this information. Two days later a similar letter was sent to Stern, which the latter answered on the 23rd of April to the effect that Gibb was expected to return the next week.

105. For Petrus Voorhoeve (1899–1996), Indonesianist and successor to Van Arendonk as Keeper of Oriental Manuscripts at Leiden University Library, see the obituary notices by A. Teeuw and E. M. Uhlen-

by the executive committee while the editorial meeting would only concern itself with matters of a technical and financial nature.[106]

The minutes of the meeting, which was held on May 9, note that "It was decided that Professor Berg should be coopted on the Editorial Committee pending the next meeting of the Organizing Committee," which was glossed in a letter to G. C. Miles, the American executive committee member, as "On item 1, the Dutch members [Berg and Posthumus] tentatively suggested that Voorhoeve of the Leiden University library should be coopted on the Editorial Committee. L.-P. and I saw little use in this suggestion, and Berg agreed to act as required for the time being."[107] As foreseen by Gibb, the May 9th meeting discussed finances, drawing up inter alia a provisional budget for the year November 1952–October 1953 on the basis of the subventions already in hand, and organizational matters such as regulations for the operation and liaison between the three secretarial offices. It was also decided that the executive committee would meet in April 1953 in Madrid, with García Gómez as host. The following day Lévi-Provençal and Gibb came together alone to examine and revise the list of contributors to the first fascicules. Gibb wrote to Berg that he regretted that Berg's "stay was such a short one" and also let him know that the next editorial meeting would be held in Paris on July 7. "If you intend to be present, would you let L.-P. know in good time? Stern will of course attend, but it will not be necessary for Huisman to go, since the only business will be the selection of the authors for the next fasciculi." One cannot help but read an undertone of dissuasion in their meeting without him and in this politely formulated letter.[108]

Although Berg did not play a full role on the editorial committee, he took his responsibilities to replace Kramers as coordinating editor seriously. "I am trying to do [Kramers's] work in the meanwhile, but this is not a final solution, as I am interested in Indonesian studies rather than in Muslim affairs, though I am not an absolute stranger in that field," he wrote to the ACLS director.[109] He shepherded the *Shorter Encyclopaedia* to publication, attended to Huisman's honorarium for correcting the proofs;[110] and spear-

beck, in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 153 (1997), 311–17, and G. E. Marrison, in *Indonesia Circle* 69 (1996), 176–79.

106. Gibb to Berg, May 2, 1952. Gibb may have regretted having another Dutchman on board with an inclination to unilateral actions and trampling on protocol.

107. Gibb to Miles, May 11, 1952.

108. Gibb to Berg, May 11, 1952.

109. Berg to Odegaard, May 4, 1952.

110. Berg was unable to convince the Academy to pay Huisman's honorarium of ƒ900 in advance to enable him to buy a houseboat, so he himself lent Huisman ƒ100 as an advance payment. The honorarium came to approximately one guilder per page, or per hour since it took Huisman that long to correct a page, which "does not seem unreasonable to me." Berg to M. E. 't Hart, Netherlands Academy, June 4, 1952; M. E. 't Hart to Berg, June 11, 1952; and receipt of one hundred guilders signed by Huisman, dated June 13, 1952.

headed the establishment of a special foundation to administer the encyclopedia funds (of $5,000) on behalf of the editors and to replace the finance committee, which had self-destructed.[111] The foundation was based in Amsterdam and for its board Berg proposed B. A. van Groningen, Berg himself, Posthumus, J. H. Boeke, and G. F. Pijper, the last two an economist and Islamicist, respectively, both with experience in the Dutch East Indies.[112] It occurred to Berg that he perhaps should have consulted with Gibb and Lévi-Provençal "before starting this new line of organisation, but Posthumus and I do [*sic*] have regarded it as an internal question of our Academy."[113] Hearing for the first about this new initiative, both Gibb and Lévi-Provençal were indeed a bit put out, and raised objections to their exclusion from the financial administration of the encyclopedia and to the inclusion of Posthumus, which was seen as a conflict of interest.[114]

After the editorial meeting in Paris on July 7, 8, and 9, 1952, at which articles for the third and fourth fascicules were allocated and "the question of maps and plates" was raised,[115] another was held in Leiden on 10 and 11 November. By this time the finances of traveling to the meetings, which were meant to rotate among the three editorial cities Leiden, Oxford, and Paris, was resolved: each editor would pay for his own travel—and for his editorial secretary, if appropriate—from the "local funds at his disposal," while a per diem in local currency of the equivalent of £5 would be given by the host for the costs of lodging. Thus, for the Leiden meeting in November, planned to last two days, Gibb expected that the three guests, viz., himself, Lévi-Provençal, and Stern, would receive "on arrival the sum of 100 guilders each."[116]

111. "Our Academy prefers the administration of the Encyclopaedia to be done by a Foundation ad hoc, and Koopmans, who was a member of the Finance Committee in his capacity of adviser of the Academy for financial questions, dropped this function some time ago [...]." Berg to Gibb, October 18, 1952.

112. To Julius Herman Boeke (1884–1956), Professor of Tropical-Colonial Economies at Leiden University, is attributed the theory of social dualism. See the entries on him in *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*, accessible online at www.historici.nl. Boeke was not on the original draft of statutes—his name replaced that of Koopmans, who no longer wanted "to be a member of the Board of Foundation Curators." Berg to Gibb, October 18, 1952. Guillaume Frédéric Pijper (1893–1988) was one of the last colonial administrators of the East Indies for Holland. He directed the Office for Native Affairs from 1937–1942, and was Professor of Arabic, Semitic Studies, Islam, and Syriac at the University of Amsterdam from 1955 until his retirement in 1963. See, e.g., E. P. Wieringa, "Two More Charts for the Arabic Ocean," *Bijlagen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 160 (2004), 555–62.

113. Berg to Gibb, October 18, 1952.

114. Gibb to Berg, October 24, 1952, and Lévi-Provençal to Berg, October 27, 1952, respectively. The foundation's statutes were drafted by Posthumus. A marginal note has added Gibb's and Lévi-Provençal's names to the board.

115. Note of editorial meeting, held July 7, 8, and 9, 1952: "La question des cartes et des planches a fait également l'object d'un examen."

116. Gibb to Berg, September 17, 1952.

Two days before the meeting Lévi-Provençal distributed his preferred agenda, which tacitly centered on the thorny question of autonomy. His proposal to reinstall the general secretary in Leiden was duly discussed among the editors, facilitated by the fact that none of the secretaries was present, as it turned out. The administrative responsibilities of the general secretary had been divvied up between Stern and Huisman in July 1951, but now that Lévi-Provençal had in mind a secretary for the French office in the person of Charles Pellat, a young historian at the Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes,[117] he felt that Stern should revert to the function of editorial secretary to the English office or move back to Leiden to exercise the function of general secretary.

> It appears that the provisions adopted at the last meeting were not carried out to the letter, partly because the secretariat at Leiden does not have the necessary details and is well-nigh deprived of work; and partly because the general secretariat is located in Oxford.[118]

Lévi-Provençal also insisted that it was imperative that "each editor take his own responsibility for articles that belong to him, without there being any interference of one with the other." Gaining steam, he continued:

> It is important that the meeting's secretary write up [what has been decided with regard to] the allocation of articles, which is kept in the archives of each editorial office. This is one of his essential functions which justifies to a great extent the salary that he enjoys, and I regret to point out that this task has not been fulfilled to date.

It is not difficult to read this as an attack on Stern, who until then had been responsible for keeping the lists of entries, authors, and cross-references up to date and for corresponding with authors. Whether it stemmed from a personal animosity or it was a reaction to the disproportionate amount of work undertaken by Stern, and perhaps the perceived lesser status of the French office, is not clear. The minutes sum up the ensuing discussion with the bald statement that the functions of Stern and Pellat would be limited to the technical aspects of each editorial office and that they would reside in Oxford and Paris respectively, while the general secretariat would be in Leiden, provisionally managed by Huisman. This bare announcement displeased Gibb, who in a letter to Lévi-Provençal after the meeting defended Stern's continued exercise of the secretary-general's function after Kramers's death "in abnormal circumstances, and in part in abeyance, pending the appointment of a new coordinating editor—which has been delayed for rather longer than anticipated," asserting that

117. Charles Pellat (1914–1992) would go on to succeed Lévi-Provençal as French editor; see below.
118. "Observations présentées au Comité de rédaction de novembre 1952," November 8, 1952.

> For this reason, therefore, while the statement in Article no. VI of the procès-verbal, that Dr Stern will act as technical secretary of the Oxford editorial office is correct, as a statement of part of his duties for the time being, this is not to be understood in the sense that he has ceased to be Secretary-General, or that he has no further responsibility towards the Editorial Committee as a whole for the maintenance of the overall planning work under our combined direction.[119]

Lévi-Provençal was quick to reply that he was entirely in agreement, "despite some reservations as to his behavior as general secretary that I am bound to have ever since I used his method of working and noted his lack of order and a slight tendency to monopolize everything."[120] He welcomed Stern's continuing on as both Secretary-General and technical secretary to the English edition providing, and here the true nature of the complaint comes to light,

> he accepts, which he has to date done with some ill will, to be permanently in communication with the Paris office. Moreover we will see how he will respond to questions by Pellat, who I am very happy, for the encyclopedia, has decided to accept the duties of secretary for the French edition. But I still think that his staying in Leiden would have been preferable after all, especially since Huisman's appointment puts a strain on the encyclopedia's budget for [what is in effect] minimal service and it would certainly seem that he is quite a mediocre help to us.[121]

Despite the fog that kept Gibb in London, postponing the meeting planned in Paris for December 8 and 9, 1952, he and Lévi-Provençal were able to meet separately a few days afterward and they settled their "difficulties which occupied so much of our time at Leiden." Gibb was sure that "a good understanding has been reached with L.-P. and Pellat, which should enable us to go ahead with reasonable confidence."[122] This contretemps was but a squall compared to the gale that would erupt a bit later concerning *la question Stern*, however.

Notwithstanding the interference of emotional matters that strained the encyclopedia's equilibrium, decisions of an administrative and financial nature were made apace—a budget was established for each of the offices; E. J. Brill would be repaid its advance of ƒ19,000 in five instalments;[123] the author's honorarium would be, respectively, ƒ10, £1, and

119. Gibb to Lévi-Provençal, November 21, 1952.

120. Lévi-Provençal to Gibb, November 28, 1952.

121. Ibid.

122. Gibb to Berg, December 14, 1952. Berg could not wait for the postponed meeting as he had classes in Leiden to return to. Berg to Gibb, December 12, 1952.

123. In order to repay the advance Berg would request subventions from the Dutch, Spanish, and Italian, and if needed, also from the Belgian and Swiss Academies, but not from UNESCO, to which Gibb remained resistant ("Provisionally, I ought to say that, so long as we have an adequate budget to go on

1,000 francs per column, the translator's fee ƒ5, 10 shillings, and 500 francs per column; and the entire manuscript and printing process was provisonally drawn up. The editors hoped to have the first fascicule ready to present at the executive committee's meeting in Madrid.

Despite the good intentions and detailed procedures, the new year started off testily. Two weeks into January 1953 found Posthumus complaining to Gibb about the lack of material for the first fascicule; Lévi-Provençal complaining to Berg of Huisman's inadequate communication skills; Posthumus complaining again to Gibb of inadequate material; 't Hart answering Huisman regarding the latter's complaint of nonpayment; and Posthumus complaining to Lévi-Provençal about missing articles and articles that were submitted but were not on the list for the first fascicule.[124] Having returned from Egypt to find both of Posthumus's letters, Gibb pointed out in his answer that the problem lay not with him, but in the publisher's insistence on having all the material for an entire fascicule in hand before commencing the typesetting, especially when compounded with the French insistence on translating only from a typeset copy, whereby delay on their side was inevitable.

> Since there can be no contractual obligations on contributors, and we are entirely dependent on their goodwill in maintaining the flow of articles, the only practicable system is to build up a reserve of articles for several fascicules, either in preliminary proofs or in completed translations, before each fascicule is finally made up for printing off.[125]

Gibb also pointed out that the list of entries on which Posthumus was relying for the make-up of the fascicule could never be "complete and unchangeable," as Posthumus wanted; every effort would be made to keep to the list as drafted but the editors had to be allowed to make adjustments. Conveniently ignoring Berg's exertions on behalf of the encyclopedia, Gibb bemoaned the lack of coordinating editor in Leiden and proposed

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with, I am opposed to making any request for a subvention from UNESCO)." Gibb to Berg, October 24, 1952. In September 1953 E. J. Brill waived the repayment in exchange for the right to raise the price of the encyclopedia by five percent. Berg to Posthumus, December 31, 1953, in which this is confirmed. From a write-up by Schacht ca. September 1954 for Berg to use in a subsidy request of ZWO (see text at n172, below), Brill undertook to sell the encyclopedia "at the price of F 10 per fascicule; this was laid down in an agreement between Messrs. Brill and the Comité de Direction, and cannot be altered unilaterally." As will be seen below, this agreement fell by the wayside upon personnel changes, and the price became a matter for the publisher alone.

124. Posthumus to Gibb, January 6, 1953; Lévi-Provençal to Berg, January 17, 1953; Posthumus to Gibb, January 17, 1953; M. E. 't Hart to Huisman, January 20, 1953; Posthumus to Lévi-Provençal, January 20, 1953, respectively.

125. Gibb to Posthumus, January 24, 1953, of which a copy was sent to Lévi-Provençal (and subsequently, on February 12, by Posthumus to Berg).

to postpone the Madrid executive meeting planned for the first week of April so that there would be time to prepare a first fascicule. The next editorial meeting in Oxford in a month's time would be dedicated to "the problems of printing."

Despite his persistent bad health, Kramers had died unexpectedly, and a year to find a successor to his academic position does not seem overly delayed; the lack of movement on the part of Leiden University, however, was a thorn in the encyclopedia's side. It is not very likely that Gibb had any say in the matter, but he apparently kept himself occupied with backseat driving—he liked the idea of the German philologist and bibliophile Hellmut Ritter, whose name surfaced "in the course of conversation with Duyvendak," whom he presumably met at an ancillary event during the last editorial meeting in Leiden.[126]

> Duyvendak said that he thought Ritter was 60 years of age. If this is so, or he is one or two years older, then it seems to me that his nomination would be the best possible solution in the present circumstances. I do not know whether the same national considerations would be felt so strongly in his case—or, of course, whether he would be willing to transfer to Leiden. But I thought I ought to send you this brief note, since we seem to have left Ritter largely out of the discussion because he was thought to be too old, to say that if we had included him, I should put him at the very top of the list. Not only his superb academic record and equipment, but also his personal qualities would seem to be what is needed as things are.

Ritter's name had been earlier proposed as a runner-up to Enno Littmann for the enlarged executive committee,[127] but the latter had accepted, although apparently not understanding the terms of the appointment. In February 1952 Posthumus of E. J. Brill received a letter from him; he had just discovered by way of the communiqué that he was listed as a member of the executive committee with simply the affiliation "Tübingen." Posthumus forwarded the letter to Huisman with the request to correct it at the next occurrence. Huisman answered that it was not in need of correction since both Littmann

126. Gibb to Berg, November 13, 1952. Gibb's consideration of Ritter for editor would belie the anti-German stance that German scholars assigned to him (see n76, above), while Gibb himself ascribes "national feelings" to unnamed others. For a biographical sketch of Helmut Ritter (1892–1971), Professor of Arabic and Persian at Istanbul University, 1926–1949, when he returned to Frankfurt University as Professor of Oriental Studies, see his entry in *EIr* (J. van Ess), available online at www.iranicaonline.org; and in *Neue deutsche Biographie* 21 (2003), 660–61, available online at www.biographie-portal.eu. J. J. L. Duyvendak (1889–1954) was Professor of Chinese at Leiden, founder of its Sinological Institute, and co-editor of *T'oung Pao*. In 1953 he was appointed president of the International Union of Orientalists, founded at the 1951 Congress in Istanbul. For an obituary notice, see that by P. Demiéville, in *T'oung Pao* 43 (1954), 1–22; and see L. Blussé, "Of Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water: Leiden University's Early Sinologists (1853–1911)," in Otterspeer, *Leiden Oriental Collections*, 317–53.

127. "Procès-verbal de la réunion du Comité de Direction," May 21, 1951.

and Posthumus himself were named to the committee in their individual capacity, as was clear from the minutes of the meeting. In his own view it might be time to open up to the German academy, Huisman wrote, but it was not his decision to make, and the psychological objections to Germans, which "no doubt were the cause of the above-mentioned, indeed, little elegant solution vis-à-vis Prof. Littmann" might still apply so that suggesting it would have little effect.[128]

The lack of German involvement and Ritter's name came up again under a different rubric as well, namely, in correspondence among Germans intent on there being a German edition of the encyclopedia. In a letter from Werner Caskel to Paul Kahle of September 18, 1952, Ritter himself is said to have thrown a spanner in the debate, arguing that the money to support a German edition could be better used for research, that it was an international era, and any particular language was little important. According to Caskel, Kramers was more open to a German edition than Gibb—"but that should not stop us from supporting the little bit of thriving German-ness that there still is." Nevertheless,

> you know how much I admire Ritter, but you also know that he is not to be reasoned with once he has something in his head, and that in this case he is hardly an authority for the DMG and German orientalists. Incidentally, I don't know anything about Gibb's having said that the percentage of German contributors was only 10%. This information can't be correct because, to begin with, the editorial committee has not yet decided on the contributors.[129]

A German edition, or the lack of it, simmered in the background among those who did not agree with Ritter and broke into a boil at the DMG annual meeting on August 2, 1953. The outcome of the meeting was shared in a letter to Gibb by Hans Roemer shortly thereafter: The German scholars had agreed in a general assembly (three votes against, two abstaining) that it was far better to read the encyclopedia articles in their original language, since the translations very often distorted the author's intended meaning, and

128. Huisman to Posthumus, February 18, 1952.

129. Caskel to Kahle, September 18, 1952. For Werner Caskel (1896–1970), Professor of Oriental Philology at the University of Cologne, see *Festschrift Werner Caskel zum siebzigsten Geburtstag 5 März 1966...*, ed. Edwin Gräf (Leiden, 1968), 5–30. For Paul Kahle (1875–1964), German Semitist who was expelled in 1938 from the University of Bonn where he was professor on account of his family having helped Jewish friends and who emigrated to Britain, see the obituaries by Matthew Black, in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 51 (1965), 485–95, and H. S. Nyberg, in *In Memoriam Paul Kahle*, ed. M. Black and G. Fohrer (Berlin, 1968), 1–2; see also Marie Kahle, *What Would You Have Done? The Story of the Escape of the Kahle Family from Nazi-Germany* (London, [1946]) (Fr. trans., *Tous les allemands n'ont pas un coeur de pierre: Récit de la fuite de la famille Kahle hors de l'Allemagne nazie (1945)* [Paris, 2001]; Ger. trans., *Was hätten Sie getan? Die Flucht der Familie Kahle aus Nazi-Deutschland* [Bonn, 2003]). Marie Kahle's escape from Germany to find work for her husband abroad was facilitated by an invitation by Snouck Hurgronje's wife (*What Would You Have Done?*, 26, 33).

had decided that the solution was a polyglot edition. However, since scholars in England and France might not be able to do without a monolingual edition, and, of course, the English and French editions were actually already in the process of being printed, a polyglot edition could appear alongside those. Roemer hoped that Gibb would be so kind as to inform the editorial committee of this decision.[130]

Gibb answered three days later that the enormous cost of the encyclopedia was the governing factor; a polyglot edition would in all likelihood not be able to raise "additional funds from England, France, or the United States." A possible alternative was the more limited "issuing [of] supplementary fasciculi from time to time containing the texts of these [German] articles; but even this would almost certainly require the raising of further subventions."[131] At the executive committee's meeting in Madrid, which had been postponed to September and to which Roemer had been invited to present the German standpoint, the committee summarily nixed the idea of a polyglot edition—it would be extra hard on the editors; it would roil the financial situation; and sales were far from ensured. Despite this categorical and collective refusal, behind the scenes maneuvering for a German edition or variant continued to hold sway, yet with little result.[132]

The appointment of Joseph Schacht to succeed Kramers in Leiden, and accordingly on the editorial board, beginning January 1, 1954, could have been the salve needed for German wounds, but Schacht had a difficult—and at this point poisoned and severed—relationship with his native land; it did, however, bring renewed life to the editorial board, which in the previous six months had suffered from a vague editorial dysphoria. Schacht was a pioneering scholar of Islamic law, who came to Leiden, which he knew well from multiple prior trips to study with Snouck Hurgronje,[133] from Oxford. Schacht had left Germany in 1934 to teach at Cairo University and then was stranded in Great Britain in 1939 upon the outbreak of the Second World War.[134] According to a colleague, "to all

130. Roemer to Gibb, August 10, 1953. For Hans Robert Roemer (1915–1997), at that time an adjunct professor (Privatdozent) at the University of Mainz and ten years later the first occupant of the chair of Islamic Studies and History of the Muslim People at the University of Freiburg, see the obituary by Erika Glassen, in *Freiburger Universitätsblätter* 137 (1997), 187–88, available online at www.freidok.uni-freiburg.de.

131. Gibb to Roemer, August 13, 1953.

132. Kahle was a prime instigator, writing to an erstwhile student, Mohammed Mostafa, Director of the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo, on August 10, 1955; to Littmann on August 29, 1955; and to Posthumus on September 3, 1955, in a (successful) effort to (re)introduce the discussion at the executive committee's meeting in Copenhagen later that month. See chapter four.

133. "Der Freiburger Privatdozent Dr. Schacht liest seit 1 Sept. bei mir muslimische Rechtsquellen [...]," Snouck Hurgronje wrote to Rudolphe Said-Ruete on August 29, 1925. Snouck Hurgronje, *Minor German Correspondences*, 190. See also Snouck Hurgronje's letters of June 7, 1933, and February 7, 1934. For Rudolph Said-Ruete, and his mother, whom Snouck Hurgronje befriended, see Sayyida Salme/Emily Ruete, *An Arabian Princess between Two Worlds: Memoirs, Letters Home, Sequels to the Memoirs, Syrian Customs*, ed. E. van Donzel (Leiden, 1993).

134. "The British sequestered Schacht's library in Cairo in 1939 and refused to let him return from

outward appearances Schacht was an austere scholar, sensitive in the extreme, and all too ready to sense slights where none were intended. His moral rectitude knew no compromise; he would rather accept harm to his prospects than adjust to a situation of which he could not approve."[135] His first mention in the encyclopedia archives, in a letter from Stern to Kramers in 1951, reinforces that impression:

> I have seen Schacht. It was quite evident that he had manifold grievances against the Encyclopaedia – boiling down, in the main to the complaint that he did not get, or he thinks he did not get, the consideration he deserved. I flatter myself that I succeeded completely to pacify him.[136]

Examples of upbraiding ("I had the same request to make in my letter of 7th November 1956 already, and I am disappointed that my previous letter had so little effect"[137]) and remonstration of a later assistant's use of address ("Incidentally, please do not address me as 'Sir' but simply as Professor Schacht, and please sign yourself not 'respectfully' but merely 'sincerely'"[138]) would seem to confirm the stiff and strict character, although they can also be appreciated as forthrightness and an allergy to artifice; in any event, it would become clear all too soon after his appointment that Schacht's personality clashed with others—notably, Gibb—on the board.

Before then, however, in the rush to present a first fascicule at the meeting of the executive committee, the disarray and dysfunction of the three offices reared into view.

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a summer vacation in London." Reid, "Cairo University and the Orientalists," 55. For more on Joseph Schacht (1902–1969), see the obituary notices by Bernard Lewis, in *BSOAS* 33 (1970), 378–81, and by George Hourani (with addendum by Jeanette Wakin), in *JAOS* 90 (1970), 163–68; see also Jeanette Wakin, *Remembering Joseph Schacht (1902–1969)* (Cambridge, MA, 2003). It has become a commonplace to remark that Schacht ceased writing—and, by extension, speaking—German after he went into self-exile in 1934, noted first (?) in Lewis's obituary of 1970, p. 381. As George Hourani (p. 164) correctly distinguishes, he ceased "writing for publication" in German—his last article, on the minaret, was published in *Ars Islamica* in 1938. The truth is a bit less forgiving for conversational German: in the encyclopedia archive is a letter in German by Schacht to Paret as late as May 14, 1962 (fig. 22), and although there is no evidence of his setting foot in Germany after 1934, he would meet his sister, still living there, once a year in a café on the Dutch border, between Heerlen and Aachen. One presumes he spoke with her in their native tongue. Personal communication Emeri van Donzel.

135. Edward Ullendorff, obituary of Joseph Schacht, in idem, *From the Bible to Enrico Cerulli: A Miscellany of Ethiopian and Semitic Papers* (Stuttgart, 1990), 202 (the obituary appeared in *The Times*, August 8, 1969). Some viewed him differently, however. According to Fokke Dijkema, later Oriental editor at Brill (see below), he was "absolutely not a difficult person" (personal communication); see also Wakin, in *JAOS* 90 (1970), 168.

136. Stern to Kramers, December 9, 1951.

137. Schacht to Wieder, January 28, 1957.

138. Schacht to Van Donzel, February 24, 1965. In a different light, this can also be read as well intentioned and inclining to unpretentiousness. Schacht was addressed as "Joe" by some peers, as in Lewis to Schacht, December 15, 1961; Richard Ettinghausen to Schacht, December 28, 1961.

The working habits of the editorial secretaries came under particular scrutiny. In March 1953 Berg wrote his fellow editors:

> I regret to say that Huisman's enthusiasm is considerably smaller than it should have been. I have been telling him that he ought to be ashamed, as he has been able to devote his energy—if you will excuse me for abusing this word—to his private affairs, and especially to prepare his examinations; that he ought to have been glad to get an opportunity to earn his salary instead of only receiving it. His answer is that Kramers has allowed him to divide his interest between the Encyclopaedia and his own studies and that he is not able to produce more copies, as his mutilated finger is a handicap.[139]

In response Lévi-Provençal aired his pet peeve. "Everything would go very well if there was an organized and diligent secretary at Oxford, which is not the case with Stern," he complained to Berg.[140] Stern meanwhile, unsure of his responsibilities and having an inkling of the grumbling across the North Sea, asked Berg for clarification about the situation; he had to repeat himself two months later since silence reigned ("you may imagine I am rather worried about this uncertainty").[141] Preserving the preferred and prevailing ambiguity, Berg dodged the question:

> The meeting of July 2 did not give much opportunity to discuss questions of organization. [...] Professor Gibb told me he found the state of affairs somewhat discomforting, but we did not go very deep into that question. I am still prepared to come to Oxford and to talk all questions over with professor Gibb and you, if you would think that an all-English talk would be useful in order to facilitate the discussions in Madrid. However, the part which I play in the comité de redaction is a provisional one, and I really do not know whether professor Gibb wants to have such a talk. If Dr Schacht accepts the professorate in Leiden and would become the third member of the comité de redaction, there would be one reason more to have a preliminary discussion, as in that case he ought to take part in the meeting of Madrid.[142]

Seemingly oblivious to how he himself was perceived, Huisman added his two cents to the grumbling, although his complaint about the French had to be muted since they did not welcome (his) prying eyes. "Why I don't say anything about the French edition is less

139. Berg to "Colleagues," March 22, 1953.

140. Lévi-Provençal to Berg, March 2[5], 1953.

141. Stern to Berg, May 30 and July 22, 1953.

142. Berg to Stern, July 28, 1953. The meeting he refers to was one of the financial committee, to which George Miles flew over from New York City. The financial picture was promising, despite the lack of any funds from Italy, Spain, Sweden, and others. "Rapport du Comité de rédaction sur le travail exécuté entre mai 1951 et septembre 1953."

because of the flawless condition it's in as for the fact that my assistance is not deemed necessary," Huisman reported to Berg, to whom he sent a copy of the corrections that he had made after looking over the first articles Stern had sent. He had had a "visit from the head of the printing operation [at E. J. Brill], with whom I spent an entire evening trying to bring order to the chaos."[143] A month later he gave free rein to his discontent:

> I have heard that some corrected proofs have already come back from Paris. The number of corrections is pretty substantial, which for a large part is due to the unsatisfactory preparation that forced Brill to take over entire articles from the first edition, with imaginable consequences because of the since changed transcription. The addenda that appeared in the Supplement were also not taken into account. The English text I received last Tuesday. This was the result of repeated urgent requests from Brill to England. But the copy was in a deplorable state and not at all ready for printing. Many articles were simply missing; in keeping with the French proof I typed them over from the first edition, with additions here and there, where possible in the haste. The total came to fifteen columns. One article still has to come from Oxford (a new article that needs to be translated). For the rest there were lots of articles that were simply not legible. When they were copies of articles that I had previously typed, I replaced them with what I had here; when they were translations of French articles I typed them over if they were particularly messy, [or] if possible corrected on the same copy (the dots and stripes were often one letter further than where they were supposed to be!). The translations didn't seem so great to me and were, it seems, not corrected (I fixed up some bad translations when I happened to see them). My questions and comments that I sent to Oxford, a copy of which I sent to you last June 20th as example, were completely ignored. It goes without saying that, after I was cut from helping with the French edition for reasons that have never been explained, this state of affairs in Oxford has extinguished my very last spark of interest in the E.I. That I prepared this last copy for typesetting as best I could was because I didn't want to make Brill the victim of the astounding conditions prevailing with the editors; my first impulse was, however, to bring the entire mess as I received it to Brill. As long as Oxford cloaks itself in silence and inaction, I am unfortunately forced to do the same. Bringing the copy I have described above to the printer is therefore the last thing I will do for the Encyclopaedia until further notice.[144]

Every step of the editorial and printing process was manual. True to their etymology, most manuscripts were submitted handwritten; copies were then typed, without the recourse of corrective liquid or tape; text was typeset in hot lead, which was labor intensive; and corrections in the proof required retypesetting paragraphs or whole pages—it

143. Huisman to Berg, June 20, 1953.
144. Huisman to Berg, July 31, 1953.

was an arduous and slow process to prepare a fascicule for printing.[145] For the editorial secretaries, "making copies" meant typing over the sometimes indecipherable manuscript with carbon paper for multiple copies; for Huisman, in particular, whose assignment was to make five copies of every manuscript sent to him—two to be kept in Leiden, one to go to each editor to be used for translation, and the fifth to be sent to the author by the proper editorial office—it was exceedingly rote work. "The typing continues at a steady pace; the bottom of that vat of vinegar is in sight," he wrote Berg.[146]

The system of managing the manuscripts and proofs—in the hopes of reaching "a definite understanding with the representatives of Brill over the question of printing"—had been honed again in a meeting in early March.[147] Both Gibb and Lévi-Provençal professed early satisfaction, although because of the rush to get the first fascicule printed, Gibb felt taxed with writing the articles whose authors had failed to deliver.[148] But there was a missing link somewhere that fostered the rampant dissatisfaction and disorder. Reverting to feeling chafed by the publisher's demands, Gibb put the onus on E. J. Brill's organizational scheme. On August 5 he sent directly to Posthumus a final missing article and the typescript of the fascicule's title page, leaving his name off.

> This is because I am unable to carry on as English editor any longer under the present method of organization, which experience has shown to be entirely impractical. Unless the Comité de Direction at its meeting in Madrid is able to reestablish an efficient central administration for the Encyclopaedia, and unless at the same time a simpler and more flexible system for dealing with manuscripts and proofs is accepted by the Maison Brill, I shall—reluctantly but definitively—be forced to resign all connection with the editorial work.[149]

Upon receiving his copy of Gibb's bombshell, Berg answered immediately. As far as he was concerned, it was not the organization that was at fault but "the people who do the work [as they] represent different types of mental structure and cannot entirely under-

145. There were still some submitted manuscripts written by hand in the early 1990s, invariably from contributors with shaky handwriting. A freelance typist was hired by the publisher to translate these manuscripts into typescripts, from which, thankfully, Xerox copies could be made. Her services were discontinued due to lack of work by around 1993. Typesetting at E. J. Brill was still in lead until the early 1980s. For more on the production history of the encyclopedia, see chapter three.

146. Huisman to Berg, May 16, 1953.

147. Gibb to Berg, February 22, 1953. The meeting with E. J. Brill was held on March 1, 1953.

148. "So far the organization that we set up at our meeting at Leiden has worked very satisfactorily. [...] I have spent a very heavy week writing about half-a-dozen articles, as well as keeping everything else going, and I still hope that we can manage to send everything in by 1 May. But it will be very serious if we have to repeat this experience every time." Gibb to Berg, March 25, 1953. For his part, Lévi-Provençal wrote: "Le système adopté pour la multiplication des articles à Leiden me parait satisfaisant." Lévi-Provençal to Berg, March 2[5], 1953.

149. Gibb to Posthumus, August 5, 1953, with copies to Lévi-Provençal and Berg.

stand each other." It must be assumed that he is not writing about his fellow editors. He suggested that Gibb wrote out of annoyance due to his having to hurriedly stand in for authors who did not submit on time, and that a second postponement of the executive meeting was the best recourse.[150] Both suggestions were rejected by Gibb ("Believe me, my letter to Posthumus was not sent in a fit of annoyance"). From his answer it appears that the refusal by E. J. Brill to allow authors to correct proofs was one of the offending points and Posthumus's offering to revisit this matter stayed the resignation for a time.[151]

The first French fascicule and most of the English one, or an unproofed whole, were presented two weeks later at the executive committee meeting in Madrid.[152] The English fascicule's troubles were attributed to the difficulties encountered in finding translators from French into English.[153] With the expectation that the process could only be improved, the editors foresaw publication of six fascicules a year.[154] Unfortunately, some eminent scholars such as Giorgio Levi Della Vida and A. J. Arberry had fallen away.[155]

150. Berg to Gibb, August 8, 1953, with copies to all involved.

151. Gibb to Berg, August 12, 1953; Posthumus to Gibb, August 10, 1953 (Harvard University Archives, H. A. R. Gibb Papers, box 2, folder 11); Gibb to Posthumus, August 12, 1953.

152. There are differing reports as to the completeness of the English fascicule that was presented. The "Rapport du Comité de rédaction sur le travail exécuté entre mai 1951 et septembre 1953" notes that "Il est possible de présenter au Comité de direction la totalité de la première livraison de l'édition française et presque la totalité de la première livraison de l'édition anglaise." However, another identically titled "Rapport" in the archives differs substantially in two places, one of them being the account of what was presented. In this second text both fascicules were presented in their entirety ("la totalité de la première livraison des éditions anglaise et française"). Huisman had written Berg two weeks before the Madrid meeting that "the French edition of the first fascicule shall appear one of these days; I have not yet seen a second proof of the English edition as the first proof is not yet complete (it seems that not all the copy has been submitted)." Huisman to Berg, September 8, 1953. According to the "Report of the Editorial Committee, July 1955" "a provisional print [of the first fascicule] was presented at Madrid [and] was issued after further revision in January 1954." The other large difference between the two 1953 reports is the omission in the second of the names of Arberry and Levi Della Vida as contributors whose collaboration the encyclopedia now had to do without (see below).

153. One of the future translators was Schacht's wife, Dorrie: "Incidentally, now that we are definitely installed, my wife will be prepared again to help with translations from French into English – if possible, of articles of some length." Schacht to Burton-Page, October 22, 1960. Schacht charged the encyclopedia account 1.5 guinea per 1000 words, viz., a receipt of payment dated February 10, 1961.

154. These were not the large fascicules known from the 1970s on, when six in each language would have driven everyone to utter despair, as an experiment in publishing four in the 1990s proved.

155. "C'est ainsi que l'Encyclopédie a dû renoncer à bénéficier de la collaboration d'orientalistes éminents tels que le Pr. Lévi della Vida [*sic*] et le Pr. Arberry." Thus the "Rapport du Comité de rédaction sur le travail exécuté entre mai 1951 et septembre 1953"; the "second" report simply has "la collaboration de certains orientalistes éminents." What the collaboration consisted of is not clear—Levi Della Vida withdrew from the executive committee but Arberry had not been a member. Since both scholars continued to write for the encyclopedia until their deaths, perhaps the above sentence must be seen as an allusion to their not having been able to deliver for the first fascicule instead of an end to all par-

The former had asked to be relieved of his seat on the executive committee through his Academy, which then appointed Francesco Gabrieli in his place.[156] With Joseph Schacht's imminent appointment to Leiden and as encyclopedia editor and the financial picture relatively healthy,[157] the only blot on the rosy picture was Huisman, who to his complete surprise was unceremoniously fired by letter from Madrid.

Although Huisman had not been circumspect about his dislike of the encyclopedia work, or about his interest in an opening in the Leiden University library, the possibility of Schacht's appointment left him ambivalent about leaving his employ. Two weeks before the hatchet fell, he wrote Berg, "Meanwhile Prof. Schacht has come, and has considered the matter [of the encyclopedia]. I hope that his appointment in Leiden will revive the encyclopedia. In that case I'll reconsider my earlier devised plan to transfer to the university library. As long as Anceaux [the incumbent] is still there, it's not relevant anyway."[158] The decision was not left to Huisman to consider or reconsider, however; a letter on behalf of the executive committee convening in Madrid was sent him on the very first day of the meeting informing him that his position on the encyclopedia would end after the normal term of notice; the overused culprit of inadequate funds, reinforced by the position's "unsuitability in the new organization," was brought to bear.[159] Huisman did not take this lying down; he lodged a complaint and insisted that Berg apply for a dismissal order from the Leiden employment office, which would enable him to collect unemployment.[160]

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ticipation. For Giorgio Levi Della Vida (1886–1967), see the obituary by F. Gabrieli, in *Revista degli studi orientali* 42 (1967), 281–95; his autobiography, *Fantasmi ritrovati* (Venice, 1966). For Arthur John Arberry (1905–1969), at the time Sir Thomas Adams Professor of Arabic at Cambridge University, whose acclaimed translation of the Quran would appear in 1955, see E. P. Elwell-Sutton, "Arberry, Arthur John," *EIr* 2:278–79; and obituary notices by L. Lockhart, in *Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* 8 (1970), vii–viii, and G. M. Wickens, in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 58 (1972), 355–66.

156. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei to the Executive Committee, June 16, 1953. The appointment of an executive committee member by other than the executive board seems to have been well received. For Francesco Gabrieli (1904–1996), see the unsigned obituary, in *Revista degli studi orientali* 70 (1996), 455; G. Lancioni, "Gabrieli, Francesco," *EIr* 10:240–41.

157. "L'aspect financier de l'entreprise permet d'autre part d'être relativement optimiste pour les années à venir." "Rapport du Comité de rédaction sur le travail exécuté entre mai 1951 et septembre 1953."

158. Huisman to Berg, September 8, 1953. The incumbent was Johannes Cornelis Anceaux (1920–1988), from 1971 Professor of Comparative Austronesian Linguistics and Papuan at Leiden University, who left for a three-year linguistic research project in Netherlands New Guinea in June 1954. See the obituary notice by K. A. Adelaar, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 145 (1989), 1–7.

159. "[W]egens gebrek aan middelen niet bestendigd kon worden, en zij bovendien niet past in de nieuwe organisatie [...]." Berg to Huisman, September 24, 1953.

160. Huisman to Berg, September 29, 1953.

1.3. *The Addition of Joseph Schacht as Editor, 1954–1956*

Joseph Schacht's appointment as Professor of Arabic in Leiden and editor of the encyclopedia—the latter appointment having been confirmed in Madrid—went into effect as of January 1, 1954.[161] He set the tone for a new administration immediately. Seemingly not sharing Huisman's outlook on working together, according to Berg, he hired W. P. de Haas, who was also involved in the *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, Wensinck's large project of which only one fascicule had been published before his death.[162] In keeping with the belt-tightening moves suggested in Huisman's letter of dismissal, De Haas was paid ƒ150 a month, sixty percent less than Huisman's salary. De Haas's tenure, however, was short-lived. One year later Schacht would be on his second, and then his third assistant.[163]

Schacht soon found himself in correspondence with various Dutch bureaucrats regarding Huisman's dismissal. Berg had disclaimed all responsibility—he argued that Huisman had been hired by Kramers and paid for with money from international donors that was distributed by an international committee; Berg himself was simply the Dutch Academy's representative on this committee, he wrote. He directed them to Kramer's successor. Schacht likewise "found it impossible to comply," since he had joined the editorial board after Huisman had left; moreover,

161. There is no reference to Schacht's having been present at Madrid, but Berg confirms that he was appointed as editor there. Berg to M. E. 't Hart, January 20 and February 16, 1954.

162. "Van de heer Schacht verneem ik thans, dat hij op verdere medewerking van de heer Huisman geen prijs stelt." Berg to M. E. 't Hart, January 20, 1954. One can only speculate as to who exactly was intent on Huisman being fired: Berg had earlier stated his objections to Huisman (see text at n139); or perhaps Schacht's visit with Huisman did not go well; or Gibb and Lévi-Provençal, who had made no effort to conceal his feelings in this respect (see text at, e.g., n121), pushed to reform the Leiden office before the changing of the guard. Schacht notified Berg of De Haas's assistant status in a letter of January 25, 1954; cf. Berg to the Tax Inspector, March 23, 1954. There is little information available about Willem Pieter de Haas, who took over the editorship of the *Concordance* with J. B. van Loon after Wensinck's assistant and successor Johan Peter Mensing left, other than that he earned his doctorate in 1954 from Utrecht University with a thesis entitled "The Semantic Spectrum of Moisture in Arabic with Some Indonesian Analogies" (The Hague, 1954). For Mensing (1901–1951), Professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies at Utrecht University until 1950 when the chair was abolished, see F. de Jong, "A Survey of Middle Eastern Studies in the Netherlands," in *Middle East Studies: International Perspectives on the State of the Art*, ed. T. Y. Ismael (New York, 1990), 151; for a brief history of the *Concordance*, see J. J. Witkam, "Le projet de publication de la Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane: Une rétrospective," *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane* (Leiden, 1988), 8:7–10; see also "Een groot werk der nederlandsche arabistiek," *Oostersch Instituut Jaarboek* 1941 (V) (Leiden, 1942), 1–8.

163. During the month of January 1955 Schacht's assistant was A. H. J. J. Meertens, who then left for another position and was replaced on February 1, 1955 by S. A. Bonebakker (see n172, below). Schacht to the director of ZWO, May 16, 1955.

> the essence of the activities performed by the editorial staff of the Encyclopaedia of Islam is the free cooperation of its members for a non-commercial purpose. It goes without saying that each member is expected to do the work which he has undertaken to perform by his own free will, but no more than moral arguments have ever been used to get the work done. Mr. Huysman never was an employee of the Comité de Rédaction. He was allotted a small honorarium for the time he spent on his work, but so are some other collaborators whom no one would venture to call employees.[164]

The case dragged on, mostly due to inertia on the part of the encyclopedia personnel. In September 1954 the employment office claimed ƒ214.47 in back payments for unemployment benefits due Huisman;[165] in the next ten months two collection letters for the owed benefits were sent.[166] However, the argument that there never was a relationship of employment between Huisman and the committee seems to have been accepted, prompting the suddenly concerned Berg in October to request from the tax office the repayment of ƒ1,078.18 in erroneously paid wage taxes.[167] A bureaucratic resolution of the case is missing in the archives. Huisman went on to assist Voorhoeve in the Oriental reading room at the university library once Anceaux had left for the East Indies in June 1954, becoming the curator of Oriental manuscripts in 1959. He took early retirement in 1980 and upon his death three years later was found to be preparing a new index for the *Historical Atlas* (see appendix three, below), requested of him by the then editors of the encyclopedia.[168]

The other major event that heralded the start of Schacht's tenure on the encyclopedia was Gibb's renewed push to effectuate his resignation, this time as of March 31. In his second attempt to step down he stated that the "cumulative effects of the strains which this task have imposed on me have now reached a stage at which I am left with no alternative."[169] In a note to Schacht he elaborated on the strains:

> It would have given me great satisfaction to continue our collaboration on the Encyclopaedia. But it is evident that nobody will in fact take over the English edition until I positively drop out, although it is now eight months since I publicly gave notice that I could not carry on much longer. I have been constantly hoping that some arrangement might be made by which this editorial task

164. Schacht to [Gemeenschappeljk Administratiekantoor], May 20, [1954]. Cf. Director of the Gemeenschappeljk Administratiekantoor to Berg and Berg to the Director of the Gemeentelijk Administratiekantoor, April 2 and 4, 1954, respectively.

165. Nieuwe Algemene Bedrijfvereniging to Comité de Direction, September 23, 1954. The guilder amount equaled approximately $56.50 (or 26 cents to the guilder).

166. Letters addressed to the Comité de Direction at the address Rapenburg 61, Leiden, January 12 and June 25, 1955.

167. Berg to Inspecteur der Loonbelasting, Leiden, October 23, 1954.

168. Bonebakker, "In memoriam," 101.

169. Gibb to "Colleagues," March 7, 1954.

> would become less exacting and more of a routine function. But on the contrary the demands continue to grow, and even after giving to it all the available time at my disposal, I still cannot keep up with what needs to be done. It is completely breaking me down, and it would be sheer lunacy on my part to continue.[170]

Gibb's preference was to step down before the second fascicule had been printed with his name on it, but he agreed to perform "routine duties in connection with the third and fourth fascicules for a limited number of months" until a successor could be found.[171] As it turned out, even with Gibb's physical move to Harvard University in August 1955, seventeen months later, in the end it would take a fourth attempt at resignation, after a major upheaval in the English office in 1956, to effectively end Gibb's tenure.

With Schacht's appointment, Berg reverted fully to his role on the financial committee. In the summer of 1954 he petitioned for a subsidy from ZWO, the Dutch semi-autonomous national research organization (in 1988 re-acronymed NWO) that since 1950 promotes research under the auspices of the Ministry of Education. He was hoping for funds in place of the Dutch Academy's grant of ƒ1,000 in 1952, which it had been unable to continue in 1953. The ZWO was amenable and the amount of ƒ1,900, 1,800 for the salary of an assistant to Schacht and 100 for office supplies, was granted at the end of the year.[172] Although larger than the Dutch annual contribution to date, this amount was meager when compared to the annual French (or francophone) and British equivalents of ƒ7,500 and ƒ6,000 respectively, and the annual American grant of $3,000, but one could argue that Dutch contributors were also fewer in number, made fewer by their "not produc[ing] the promised articles, which had to be given to other contributors at short notice," as Schacht said of two of the five (unnamed) Dutch contributors for the first three fascicules in his write-up for the ZWO subsidy.

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170. Gibb to Schacht, March 7, 1954. To Berg Gibb wrote, "I do not wish to seem theatrical, but the fact is that I have been on the edge of a breakdown and must drastically limit the range of my present activities." Gibb to Berg, March 13, 1954.

171. Gibb to "Colleagues," March 7, 1954.

172. Correspondence between Berg and the Director of ZWO, J. H. Bannier, July 27, August 13, September 11, October 21, and December 24, 1954; cf. also confirmation of February 15 and 23, 1955. Schacht's assistant upon receipt of the subvention was S. A. Bonebakker, who would be working on average two to three hours each day. However, after finding out that Bonebakker was employed at the university, ZWO determined that its grant could not be used for Bonebakker as "it would upset the levels of salaries paid to research staff" at the university, and it therefore reversed its decision. Berg was able to reach a compromise whereby Bonebakker's university salary was reduced and the difference was made up by the ZWO funds—which solution would seem to have provided a disservice to Bonebakker. For Seeger Adrianus Bonebakker (1923–2005), who was completing his doctoral studies at this time under Schacht, and would later teach at Columbia University and at UCLA, see the memorial note by Geert Jan van Gelder, in *Quaderni di studi arabi*, new series, 1 (2006), 5–6.

In addition to arguing over and attempting to resolve the manuscript-to-print process that defied streamlining,[173] which occupied much of 1954 and the following year, the editorial committee was forced to deal with a call originating in Pakistan for "Muslim governments, Muslim institutions, and Muslim individuals from all over the world of Islam" to, among other actions, protest the "appointment of two Jews in leading positions of the Executive Committee of the Encyclopaedia."[174] This episode forced itself onto the agenda of the fourth meeting of the executive committee, convening September 26 and 27, 1955, in Copenhagen, where the accusation—which singled out Lévi-Provençal and Stern and called for decreasing or abolishing altogether the "amount of Jewish influence" on the encyclopedia—was summarily dismissed on the second day.

The executive meeting in Copenhagen was attended by all but Gibb and Littmann, the latter having excused himself on account of his age and health.[175] Realizing that Littmann would presumably not be in a position to attend future committee meetings, it was decided to consult him about a successor, and on Littmann's recommendation Rudi Paret was chosen to replace him on the executive committee;[176] Littmann himself was named

173. The editors had to fight back a collective effort by the commercial institutions involved in distributing the encyclopedia, viz., E. J. Brill, Luzac & Co. of London, and Maisonneuve in Paris, which sent a letter proposing commercial-friendly suggestions to stem the delay in publishing, which they attributed to the editors. They received a terse reply in return from the editorial committee, laying the blame at E. J. Brill's door and remarking inter alia that "the commercial side of the enterprise shall in no way influence the scholarly standards of the Encyclopaedia [...]." Letter, on E. J. Brill letterhead, from the three companies to the Executive Committee, June 20, 1955; Editorial Committee to E. J. Brill, addressed to "Messieurs," July 12, 1955. The amount of paper and proof stages involved at this time is staggering. In a letter to the publisher in October 1954, Schacht asked that galley- and page-proofs, seven sets each in both languages, be sent to the Leiden office where they would be sent on to the respective addresses. He then changed these instructions in July 1955 to accommodate Gibb's move to Harvard. Now twelve galley proofs in four sets of three were to be sent—to the Leiden office, the Paris office, to Stern in Oxford, and, "on India paper," to Gibb directly—but "the second and third [stage] proofs were to go in 3 copies each to Leiden, Paris and Dr. Stern in Oxford only." Schacht to Wieder, October 4, 1954 and July 14, 1955. For more on the complicated manuscript-to-print process, see chapter three, below.

174. For more on this incident, see chapter four, below.

175. For the make-up of the executive committee, see text at nn35 and 76, above. Littmann had just been the honoree of a Festschrift, edited by Rudi Paret and Anton Schall, presented on the occasion of his eightieth birthday on September 16.

176. Littmann was asked for his recommendation after the meeting; then, with no objections from the committee members who were petitioned by mail on December 5, 1955, the appointment of Paret was confirmed. As noted, there was considerable behind-the-scenes lobbying on the part of Paul Kahle (see n132, above, and chapter four, below) for a German committee member. Undoubtedly connected to this as well was a letter from Roemer, president of the DFG, referred to in the minutes of the Copenhagen meeting as a discussion point, which Pedersen had received prior to the meeting. It enquired "about the possibility of a German member being elected to the 'inner committee.'" Pedersen also received the day after the Copenhagen meeting a letter from Hans van Herwarth, Ambassador to London, who passed on "the renowned Orientalist" Kahle's opinion "that it was time for the existing editorial committee of the

an honorary member, along with Levi Della Vida. Both Stern and Pellat sat in on the first day, accompanied by R. M. Savory, newly added to the secretariat of the English edition.[177] Along with a German member, the appointment to the executive committee of a second British member due to Gibb's "removal to the United States," as suggested by the British Academy, was discussed. In Gibb's absence the committee proposed to postpone any decision on this point until both Gibb and the British Academy could be consulted and it appointed Pedersen to be the middleman. It was agreed that it would be expedient to convene a meeting in a year's time, rather than the usual two-year intervening period, and Rome was chosen as the venue for a meeting in September 1956.[178]

Along with the latest financial situation, including (1) the announcements by Miles of an American subvention of $5,000 for 1955 and for 1956 and by Gabrieli and García Gómez that their Academies would contribute a yearly amount of 100,000 lire (approx. £65) and 70,000 pesetas (approx. £70) respectively to cover payment for Italian and Spanish contributors; and (2) the committee's approval of Gibb's preliminary agreement with the Urdu Encyclopaedia that it could use the material in the first volume of the new edition against a subvention of £100 per year for three years, the minutes of the meeting of the second day reported the executive committee's concern at the slow rate of publication.

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so important encyclopedia to be enlarged with a German member and [...] to publish a German edition of this encyclopedia." Having Schacht as editor was not enough for those who agitated for German presence, likely because he had renounced his German citizenship. For Rudi Paret (1901–1983), Littmann's student and successor at Tübingen in 1951, best known for his translation into German of the Quran, which appeared in fascicules from 1963–1966, see the obituary notice by J. van Ess, in *Der Islam* 61 (1984), 1–7. Somehow, Paret's connection to the wartime pro-Nazi Institute for the Study and Eradication of Jewish Influence on German Church Life did not deter the committee from appointing him. Susannah Heschel, *The Aryan Jesus: Christian Theologians and the Bible in Nazi Germany* (Princeton, 2008), 98, 100n121.

177. Roger M. Savory (b. 1925), primarily known for his work on the Ṣafavids, had been a student of both Gibb and Schacht at Oxford. He was notified of his having been recommended by Gibb to assist with the English edition by A. K. S. Lambton, Chair of Persian and Savory's senior at SOAS where he had been appointed Lecturer in Persian in 1950. He required her permission and that of W. B. Henning, Chair of Ancient Iranian Studies, because any extramural remuneration needed to be approved. Henning was not in favor, chiding him for "being a fool for even thinking of doing this before you are established." Personal communication from Roger Savory, Toronto, May 2008.

178. Berg to the Dutch Academy, October 14 and November 21, 1955. The British Academy wanted to name A. F. L. Beeston in Gibb's place but the executive committee rejected the Academy's position that it was the rightful appointer of committee members. Berg suggested that Pedersen mediate with the British Academy, where "the atmosphere was troubled because of animosity since some resent Gibb's move to America." Although the second British member was still to be decided upon, the Midland Bank was notifed, by proposal of Gibb, to empower Beeston to manage the British bank account on behalf of the encyclopedia. "Secretary of the Committee" to the Manager of Midland Bank, Oxford, November 14, 1955. For Alfred Beeston (1911–1995), Laudian Professor of Arabic at Oxford and Gibb's successor, see his own account "The Making of an Orientalist," *Oxford Magazine* 122 (Michaelmas term 1995); E. Ullendorff's chapter on him, in Bosworth, *Century of British Orientalists*, 50–71.

The committee "expressed the opinion that [accelerating it] could best be assured by having the General Secretary attached to the Leiden Office and near to the printer; [and it] called upon the Editorial Committee to take all measures it deemed advisable in order to bring about an accelerated rate of publication, and to report to the next meeting."[179]

Receipt of the minutes, which were in French, led to impassioned correspondence on the part of the English contingent. Schacht's reply to Stern reveals that the latter was upset that the minutes referred to him, with Pellat, as "les sécretaire[s] scientifiques du Comité de Rédaction":

> I think you can take it for granted that everyone who has come into touch with the E.I., merely by looking at the letterhea[d] knows that you and you alone are the Secretary of the Editorial Committee. You were also repeatedly referred to as the Secretary General in the meeting of 27 September. In these circumstances, I do not feel myself justified to worry Professor Lévi-Provençal who, as you most certainly realize, has been gravely ill, with correcting what amounts to nothing more than a typist's omission or mistake. The text as it stands is not even materially wrong, because apart from being the Secretary of the Editorial Committee, you also act as the scientific secretary for the English edition, in the same way as Professor Pellat acts for the French edition, and an additional fee for it was restored to you by the Editorial Committee last July. I have, however, added your title of Secrétaire Général in the copies of the Leiden files.
>
> At the same time, I must deprecate your assumption that Professor Lévi-Provençal should have changed the "correct text" given to him by me, and I cannot admit that the Secretary should make an invidious distinction between the members of the Editorial Committee.[180]

In his own communication about this, Gibb was close to apoplectic on behalf of his protégé. In addition to the slight of calling Stern a "sécretaire scientifique," which he wanted immediately corrected, he took umbrage at a number of points. The "most serious and grievous" one, however, was the suggestion that the slow pace of production had to do with Stern:

> You will recall that at our last meeting in Leiden I withdrew my resignation from the editorial committee on the sole condition that the mean-spirited campaign long waged against Mr. Stern, little appreciative of his great services, which could only lead to failure of the enterprise, would finally end. I even added that these attacks directed against Mr. Stern counted in my eyes as much as attacks aimed at my own ability as editor. I know that the minutes do not reproduce everything that was directed at the Secretary-General during the meeting. But,

179. Minutes of the Meeting held in Copenhagen on 26 and 27 September 1955, 2§6.

180. Schacht to Stern, October 31, 1955. French was the lingua franca at the meetings of the editorial and executive committees until late in the 1990s.

> even though I am far from believing that my absence was consciously taken advantage of in order to resume these attacks, you would at least have had to realize that had I attended I would have undertaken to defend Mr. Stern in front of our colleagues against every accusation concerning his lack of ability, his laziness, etc., etc. Nevertheless, the condition by virtue of which I agreed to stay associated with the editorial work having been broken, this association is by this very fact ended.[181]

In his reply Schacht did not pay much heed to Gibb's actual renewed resignation. As he had done with Stern, he ascribed the omission of Stern's title of Secretary-General to "merely a translator's or typist's mistake," noting that Posthumus was also accidently missing from among the names of those attending. He then responded point by point to Gibb's other assertions. As for the executive committee's alleged interference in editorial matters:

> As regards the last paragraph of your letter, I think we must go by the text of the resolution of the Committee and not by individual opinions which may have been expressed in the discussion. I wonder whether you realize how strongly the non-editorial members of the Committee expressed the opinion that the Secretary General ought to be in Leiden. I made it clear, however, that there could be no question of upsetting the agreement of the Editorial Committee at our meeting last July. The Meeting accepted this, and the resolution in effect comes down to this that we are to go on as agreed last July, and that the speed of publication is to be reviewed again in a year's time, as we have in any case agreed to do. I do not know that you have put any other condition to your continued membership of the Editorial Committee.[182]

Schacht was in receipt, however, of a letter from Lévi-Provençal following the Copenhagen meeting that openly stated their mutual feelings about Stern: "I am pleased to see that we have perfectly identical views concerning the encyclopedia and I hope that by neutralizing Stern as much as possible, we will regain some of the lost time. I see little point, by the way, in Stern (and even less Savory) coming to our next meeting of the editorial board in Paris where we will primarily be checking fascicules 5 and 6."[183]

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181. Gibb to Schacht and Lévi-Provençal, undated and in French; the above paragraph was sent to all of the other executive committee members on November 25, 1955. Berg's penned note on his letter: "answ. 19/12, in my opinion based on bad or incorrect information."

182. Schacht to Gibb, December 5, 1955. For the editorial committee's agreement with Brill in July 1955, see chapter three.

183. Lévi-Provençal to Schacht, October 3, 1955. A letter from Pellat three months later that informs Schacht of inaction on the English side ("I note that Stern did not keep his promise to send you all the articles in A that he received [...], although he has around twenty of them. On the other hand, I sent him for advice, two months ago, a general overview of Arab dialects that I edited myself: I never received

From Gibb's answer it is clear that it is Schacht's assumption of a more commanding role that lay at the heart of his outburst ("it [is] impossible for me to remain on the Committee in circumstances which prevent me from continuing to exercise any personal influence"). Reading between the lines one suspects a personality clash as well—which is confirmed in a later letter ("differences of judgement and temperament between Mr. Schacht and myself," see below). Due to his move to America—which accounted for his original resignation, he claimed—he felt isolated from the encyclopedia, pointing out that he had received no notification of Beeston's having been appointed to take over the accounts, no report of the Paris meeting, and knew nothing of Lévi-Provençal's delicate health.[184] By not attending the Copenhagen meeting, Gibb allowed matters to be resolved without him.[185]

After this testiness, Gibb seems to have maintained for the most part an uncharacteristic silence vis-à-vis his editorial colleagues on the other side of the Atlantic. Receipt of Gibb's article "The Influence of Islamic Culture on Medieval Europe,"[186] was confirmed by Schacht on April 7 and a cable apparently inquiring after encyclopedia proofs was answered by Schacht on June 19.[187] But there is no evidence of Gibb's reaching out to Schacht upon the death of Lévi-Provençal or of an answer to Schacht's questioning whether he would attend the Rome meeting of the executive committee and remain on the editorial board after it.[188]

Lévi-Provençal's death, on March 27, 1956, did require a formal appointment of a successor, however, and the wheels were set quickly into motion.[189] Unsurprisingly, the French Academy proposed Charles Pellat, who as secretary to the French edition had held down the fort on his own during Lévi-Provençal's illness, in whose place he has also traveled to Pakistan in February 1956 to present a talk on the progress of the second edition.[190] Schacht foretold this succession possibility in his letter to Gibb of April 7, 1956

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an answer from him on the subject [...]") has the relevant passages highlighted and underlined by the recipient (fig. 24). Pellat to Schacht, January 11, 1956.

184. Gibb to Schacht, January 16, 1956. In view of Lévi-Provençal's ill-health, Gibb was prepared to continue on the editorial committee until the Rome meeting.

185. No reason for his absence is given in the correspondence or minutes.

186. Published in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 38 (1955), 82–98.

187. "[Wieder] blamed everything on postal delays and losses, and I thought it useless to hold an enquiry into what really happened. He undertook, however, to send you at once the latest page-proofs of fasc. 6 in English and in French, by air-mail." Schacht to Gibb, June 19, 1956.

188. Schacht to Gibb, April 7, 1956.

189. According to Blachère's obituary notice, Lévi-Provençal took ill in the spring of 1955, and although all thought he had been cured, the disease returned in the winter. Blachère, in *Arabica* 3 (1955), 135. In January the news from Paris was still hopeful ("Lévi-Provençal's health is improving slowly and I see that he has picked up the E.I. again, which is good news"). Pellat to Schacht, January 11, 1956.

190. The French Academy member Henri Massé wrote Schacht, Gibb, and Pedersen that the French orientalists unanimously supported Pellat. Massé to Schacht, April 11 and 20, 1956. Pellat reported back

("Whilst the appointment of a successor is officially a matter for the Comité de Direction, we shall have to take into account the suggestion which Massé will no doubt make. Personally I feel that the interest of the Encyclopaedia would best be served by Pellat, and I hope, indeed, that this will be Massé's suggestion"), although he did not hear back. Gibb did write to Massé, whom he understood wanted to also nominate Gaston Wiet to the executive committee as second French member; as he had done before Gibb pointed out that it was solely up to the executive committee to appoint its members and that the new French editor would automatically be on that committee.[191]

Stern's letter of resignation of May 2, 1956, added more turmoil to the brew:

> As the Editorial Committee found it impossible to come to a definite decision regarding my position from 1952 to 1955, and in view of the fact that the agreement reached in July 1955 was operative only for the two months from the beginning of October to the beginning of December (when it lapsed owing to the resignation of Sir Hamilton), and that there seems to be a difference of opinion even concerning that agreement, I have decided that it would be best for me to bring my present equivocal position to an end by tendering my resignation.
>
> This does not mean that I am in no circumstances prepared to remain associated with the work of the Encyclopaedia, but that I should prefer to be free to receive any approach which the Editorial Committee, or the Comité de Direction, might wish to make without the situation being in any way complicated by the equivocal nature and uncertain basis of my position hitherto.

This was judged by Pellat to be blackmail ("J'ai l'impression que Stern fait maintenant du chantage") and he advised Schacht that he was now free to make a "favorable decision" regarding the encyclopedia.[192] No other reaction is recorded in the archives until the

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to Lévi-Provençal on his trip to Pakistan in a letter of February 15, 1956, in which he confirms that it was Kahle who had started up the campaign against the encyclopedia the year before. Although Pellat does not mention this particular trip in his autobiography, it was one of a few that he took to the Indian subcontinent, despite the "weakness of my English." He also writes an amusing account of his four-week stay in Princeton to teach some courses, for which he laboriously wrote out all his notes phonetically (Pellat, *Une vie d'arabisant*, 114–16). In my experience, Pellat invariably spoke Arabic if French was out of the question. This, as his fellow editor Edmund Bosworth recalled about a trip to Bangladesh, "must have limited his contacts there with the natives!" (personal communication, June 30, 2014).

191. Gibb to Massé, April 29, 1956. The inability of the corresponding Academy to appoint one of its members to the executive committee—except in the case of Gabrieli (see text at n156, above)—was questioned by Berg. In a letter of November 21, 1956, to the Dutch Academy, he notes with regard to the German desire for a represented member: "I learned from the discussion in Copenhagen that the executive committee had a different opinion. [...] Personally I think it odd that the Academy in question must pay without having the right to appoint." For Gaston Wiet (1887–1971), historian of Islamic art, see M. Rosen-Ayalon, "In Memoriam," in *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. M. Rosen-Ayalon (Jerusalem, 1977), ix–xii.

192. Pellat to Schacht, May 16, 1956.

September 1956 executive meeting in Rome, at which time the decision to replace the editors who had fallen away needed to be made. While informing the executive committee of the last-minute "unforeseen administrative obstacle" that prevented his attending the meeting again this time, Gibb wrote:

> The question of the other members of the Editorial Committee, however, is one which has caused me deep misgivings. It is by now unhappily clear that differences of judgement and temperament between Mr. Schacht and myself, though relatively easy to smooth out in face-to-face intercourse, render it impossible for us to continue to share editorial responsibility by the method of correspondence. But I am even more deeply disturbed by the situation in which Mr. Stern has been placed. This is not the moment at which to go into the charges and insinuations which have been directed against him; I will say only that they were to my certain knowledge largely fictitious or trivial, in substance, and, in motive, largely personal.[193]

Like Gibb, Stern's good friend with whom he shared a home for twenty years, the scholar of Arabic philosophy, Richard Walzer, thought that there was a witchhunt against Stern. Alluding to his treatment on the encyclopedia, he wrote, "It was left to some fellow orientalists, who shall remain anonymous in this context, to dismiss a scholar of Samuel Stern's eminence from this post."[194] Revealing his dislike, or distrust, of Schacht finally, Gibb made a last-ditch effort to remove him: Convinced that it would be extremely difficult to find a qualified English scholar to take on a long-term editorial position, that Stern was essentially irreplaceable as Secretary-General, in terms of his devotion and qualifications, and that "experience has shown that the speed of production has not been greatly increased by the presence of an Editor at Leiden," Gibb proposed that he, Stern, and Pellat be appointed editors, with Stern being invited to "take up an academic post in Harvard University and [thus] work in close association with me." With this suggestion Gibb anticipated forestalling the difficulty he imagined occurring due to Schacht's expected academic appointment "for at least one year" at Columbia University as of September 1957, one year from then, and he assured the executive committee that the suggestion was made solely in the interests of the encyclopedia's progress "and from no personal wish to reassume the trying and burdensome obligations that fall upon an Editor"—he would not be upset by the committee choosing a different solution to the editorial board's composition.

The meeting of the executive committee convened in Rome on September 19 and 20, 1956. The attending members were Gabrieli, Berg, García Gómez, Massé, Paret, Pedersen,

193. Gibb to the executive committee members, September 8, 1956.

194. Walzer, in *Israel Oriental Studies* (n59, above), 4. For Richard Walzer, see the obituary notices by G. Endress, in *ZDMG* 127 (1977), 8–14, and D. Russell, in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 73 (1987).

and Schacht. Gibb, Miles, Nyberg, and Posthumus, who had sent assistant director F. C. Wieder Jr. in his place, had excused themselves.[195] The first order of new business was to appoint Pellat as successor to Lévi-Provençal, on the editorial, executive, and financial committees, which was approved unanimously. Stern was then invited in to explain and clarify his letter of resignation, after which the committee decided, again unanimously, to accept his resignation, while expressing the hope that he would continue his collaboration in the editing of encyclopedia articles.[196]

Assembling in the afternoon session without Stern, the executive committee members turned to the make-up of the editorial committee, and without much ado decided to invite Bernard Lewis to succeed Gibb as editor of the English edition.[197] Schacht's insistence that he would only be at Columbia for the one year, the increased tempo in the production process as noted in the editorial committee's report—prepared by Schacht[198]—and Gibb's own recommendation of Lewis in a letter to Pedersen sealed the deal. Other matters attended to at the meeting were to find a successor to the deceased J. H. Boeke on the financial committee; to invite Fuad Köprülü to succeed the deceased Adnan Adıvar as associate member; to ask Nyberg to host the 1958 executive committee meeting; and

195. Instead of George Miles, the ACLS was represented by Mason Hammond (1903–2002), Pope Professor of the Latin Language and Literature at Harvard University, who directed classical studies at the American Academy in Rome from 1955–1957. His report to the ACLS comments on the "rather confused situation. The fact is that the organization of the Encyclopedia is very awkward; it is difficult to determine the lines of responsibility on both editorial and financial questions." *ACLS Bulletin* 10 (1957), 4. For an obituary notice, see *Harvard University Gazette*, October 17, 2002, accessible online at http://news.harvard.edu/gazette/print-gazette-archives/ (search under Hammond).

196. "Procès-verbal de la réunion du Comité de Direction [...] tenue à Rome les 19 et 20 septembre 1956," 1. In the letter apprising Gibb of the outcome it is stated that "the two members of [the editorial] committee here present, M. Schacht and the newly elected member Mr. Pellat, recommend accepting this resignation and have no wish for the immediate election of a new General Secretary." Letter to Gibb [from Gabrieli], appended to the minutes, unsigned and undated (the mention of "In our meeting to-day Mr. Schacht declared [...]" suggests that it was composed in situ).

197. Bernard Lewis (b. 1916), a student of Gibb, was at that time Professor of Near and Middle Eastern History at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. For his biography, see his memoir *Notes on a Century: Reflections of a Middle East Historian* (New York, 2012), in which one-half of a page is given over to the encyclopedia, which approximately equals the amount of information I was given in an interview (May 2008) lasting a few hours, specific questions notwithstanding.

198. Report of the Editorial Committee, August 31, 1956. Gibb's assertion that a Leiden editor was not instrumental in production (despite his specifically noting the potential difficulty of Schacht's absence while at Columbia University) was unfortunately juxtaposed with Schacht's assertion that "the Leiden office of the Encyclopaedia has been doing its best in order to eliminate [E. J. Brill's delay in producing galley proofs] and similar sources of delay." In his report to the Dutch Academy, Berg wrote that the executive committee noted "with much satisfaction that since Prof. Schacht began the tempo of publication of the fascicules has increased significantly, to almost four in 1956." Report Berg to the Board of the Department of Letters, Netherlands Academy of Sciences, October 3, 1956, 1.

to attempt to get the associate members more involved with the encyclopedia. Although they had been invited for the first time at Rome, only Muhammad Shafi had been able to come.[199] He was allowed to sit in on the plenary session, from noon until 1:00 pm on the second day.

As always, the financial situation was discussed. Of note was the notification that preparing a budget for 1957—as requested by the ACLS—was difficult because of unknown factors such as the probable reduction of the Algerian, Tunisian, and Moroccan subventions.[200] And, at the request of the editors, the executive committee agreed that the following could be added in its name to the invitation to authors when they were asked to contribute an article:

> Having been made aware by the members of the editorial committee of the serious inconvenience resulting from the delay occasioned by a minority of authors in sending articles asked of them, the executive committee of the Encyclopaedia of Islam earnestly begs of all the contributors to comply as much as possible with the dates indicated for the submission of their articles, in order to ensure the regular progress of the Encyclopaedia.[201]

As each executive committee meeting thereafter makes mention in its report of the need for authors to submit their articles on time, the added paragraph seems to have had little effect in the short term. At the time of the Rome meeting, six fascicules had been published (pp. 1–384 of volume one), the last two in February and August 1956 respectively; the seventh was in an advanced stage of proofs; and the eighth had been held up due to outstanding contributions.[202] The goal was to continue the momentum and publish six fascicules per year.[203] Even so, after the Rome meeting Schacht remonstrated with Posthumus, having understood from Wieder that the corrections on the galley proofs of the seventh fascicule had not been implemented although they had been sent to E. J. Brill on August 1, "because they noticed that some galleys had no corrections, and were afraid there would be more corrections in the page-proofs. [...] I trust we are agreed that it is for the Editorial Committee to say what is ready for pageing, and I can assure you that

199. A. A. A. Fyzee, Ibrahim Madkour, and Husein Djajadiningrat sent their excuses. The plenary session was also open to honorary members, and Levi Della Vida attended.

200. "Procès-verbal de la séance du Comité financier [...] tenue à Rome le 19 septembre 1956," 1. The subventions did indeed end between 1958 and 1961 upon the independence of the countries from France.

201. "Appendix VI" to the minutes of the Rome meeting.

202. Report of the Editorial Committee, August 31, 1956.

203. "De geraamde productie van zes afleveringen per jaar kon nog niet bereikt worden, maar men blijft er naar streven." Report Berg to the Board of the Department of Letters, Netherlands Academy of Sciences, October 3, 1956, 2.

the Editorial Committee is fully alive to the responsibility of keeping corrections in the page-proofs to the minimum."[204]

When Stern was asked to send his files to Bernard Lewis, however, it soon became clear that the worst fears of the other editors were proven true. Not only was Stern disinclined to lift a finger, many of the files that were sent were in a state of disarray.[205] The next months found both Lewis and Schacht working hard to put some order into the English edition. In his letters, Schacht's attitude toward Stern consistently borders on the hostile ("We found that Stern had taken little account of the wish of the Comité de Direction expressed in Rome, that he should supply us with the desired information, so we decided to make a clean sweep and to start afresh, and I am sure we shall soon have liquidated his legacy," Schacht wrote to Pedersen, making use of a poor choice of words) and, as Gabrieli pointed out, Stern's departure took place with no official announcement of regret or appreciation ("il a sans doute ressenti beaucoup la solution [...] nous avons peut-être manqué de ne pas y ajouter un mot officiel de regret et remerciement pour son travail").[206] On top of that, a running list of Stern's transgressions was kept,[207] beginning shortly after the Rome meeting in September:

24.9.56 Prof. Schacht wrote to ask for a list of the fees to be paid from Leiden for contributions to Fasc. 6, as Stern had not supplied one.
3.10.56 Stern returned a query, stating that he was no longer connected with the Encyclopaedia.
7.11.56 Anniyya. Stern writes to say that he may have said that he would revise this article as part of his duties on the Editorial Board, but that he cannot do so now (first of many refusals by Stern to write articles for the EI after his resignation).
18.11.56 Prof. Schacht wrote suggesting that, as Stern had refused to co-operate with the new Editorial Board, we should ask Prof. Lewis to approach him "on a personal and scholarly" level with regard to an address which we needed.
27.11.56 Stern sent us a considerable number of author corrected galleys, some of which

204. Schacht to Posthumus, September 24, 1956.

205. "Sammy, bless his heart, was not entirely administrative, and there were a lot of duplicates—two authors—and that was one of the toughest jobs [...]; that was not easy, that probably took us the first year to sort it all out." Personal communication from Roger Savory, Toronto, May 2008.

206. Schacht to Pedersen, November 12, 1956; Gabrieli to Schacht, November 19, 1956. Schacht replied that Gabrieli should not blame himself for the way he communicated to Stern the committee's decision—he himself and Pellat had tried to get Stern to continue in his function the previous July, but "he rejected our advances with the most brutal disdain." Schacht to Gabrieli, November 29, 1956.

207. The list is made up of three sections ("From Stern's file"; "From Schacht's file"; "From Dumont's file"), which I have collated for chronological continuity. The dates are listed according to day, month, year; the compiler was likely Savory, as the last item corresponds to a letter in the file from Savory to Dumont.

we had sent to Oxford while Stern was away in Italy, which Stern had forgotten to hand over to Prof. Lewis.

27.11.56 We asked whether Babinger had been invited to revise ʿAṭāʾī. Stern replied "Yes, if I remember well".

4.12.56 Stern replied to our letter asking whereabouts of MS. of ʿArūḍ (Weil); MS. subsequently discovered with a translator of whom we had no knowledge, Stern having forgotten where it was.

16.12.56 We asked when the proof of Aljamía by L. P. Harvey was sent to Stern. Stern replied that he did not know of any such proof and that as far as he knew Prof. Schacht had refused to print Harvey's article.

18.12.56 We wrote to Prof. Schacht, giving a list of articles about which, owing to the inadequacy of Stern's records, we had no exact information.

8.1.57 We wrote mentioning various corrected galleys between al-Anbarī and Annāzids which had recently been "unearthed" by Stern. We also informed Prof. Schacht that the MSS. of ʿArabkīr (Taeschner) and al-Azd (Strenziok) had now appeared; they had been given to a translator of whom we had no knowledge.

31.1.57 We wrote to Prof. Schacht suggesting that, in view of the completely haphazard treatment of corrected galleys by Stern, we might have back all the author corrected galleys so far sent to Leiden so that we could tell where we stood.

2.2.57 Prof. Schacht mentions that Latham's contribution to al-Andalus, apart from being of a length quite out of proportion with the main text, arrived out of the blue, presumably following a private arrangement between Stern and Latham, and that the Editorial Committee had not been informed (this arose as a result of a complaint from Latham that his text had been unduly abridged by the Editors).

22.2.57 We wrote to ask whereabouts of corrected galleys of al-Anṣār (Watt) and ʿAraba (Clueck), sent to Stern on 23.3.56. Stern replied (24.2.57) that he had no information about these proofs.

4.5.57 Prof. Schacht stated that with regard to the requests from Taeschner and Littmann for offprints of their respective articles Akhlāṭ and Alf Layla, nothing more could now be done. He asked us to explain to these authors with abject apologies that arrangements for supplying offprints had been in the hands of the former Secretary-General, and that a careful search of the files had failed to reveal any previous request for offprints of these articles.

9.5.57 Prof. Schacht wrote to say that de Bruyn[208] hoped to finish the task of copying the card index, as far as the end of I, in time for the July meeting. He added that it

208. J. T. P. de Bruijn (b. 1931), Professor emeritus of Persian at Leiden University, was a young student of Arabic at work on the *Concordance* at the time. In response to his request for a raise in salary, Schacht suggested that he take on a second position assisting the encyclopedia instead. Personal communication from Hans de Bruijn, August 2012.

was a very long task, a fact which showed the extent to which the alienation of the Oxford copy by Stern had harmed the Encyclopaedia.

30.7.57 We wrote to ask what had become of Prof. Rosenthal's MS. ʻAbīd b. Sharya. It was not published under this head, but was relegated to ʻUbayd by a cross-reference. Prof. Rosenthal had asked for the return of the MS. and had inquired why he had not been informed of this alteration. Stern replied that the MS. was among the MSS. handed over by him to Prof. Lewis.

16.8.57 We wrote again, repeating that the MS. was not among those handed over to Prof. Lewis. Stern did not reply to our second query.

19.8.57 Stern wrote to say that he could not trace the MS. and that the decision to publish it under ʻUbayd was Sir Hamilton's.

20.8.57 We thanked Stern for his letter of 19.8.57, and asked him to write to Prof. Rosenthal and explain the situation.

21.8.57 We wrote to say that Stern had asked Fück to write Buzurg – later allocated at an Editorial meeting to Blachère/Pellat. Lichtenstadter and Bonebakker also had to be told, with abject apologies, that their articles Bishr b. Abī Khāzim and Basūs would not now be required, as Professor Fück was preparing these articles also, in response to an earlier invitation from Stern.

The rupture with the English editors was not smooth and 1956 ended with a clean break. Gibb's relationship with the encyclopedia had clearly been badly strained. Although he had declared his willingness to continue to collaborate in the capacity of contributor and to continue, though ambivalently, as member of the executive committee,[209] he first reneged on his promise to write,[210] then retracted that, promising to write all that he had been assigned but the two articles ʿArūba and Abū Burda al-Ashʿarī, and finally resigned from his position on the executive committee altogether.[211]

209. "On the one hand, it would be a painful decision to sever my remaining connexion with my colleagues on the Committee; on the other hand, so long as I remain a member, I am compelled to bear certain responsibilities (which may be vital to the enterprise) and I am very doubtful whether I am justified in continuing to bear them." Gibb [to Gabrieli], October 6, 1956.

210. "Maintenant il dit [...] qu'il est d'avis que la contribution la plus utile qu'il pourra faire à l'Encyclopédie est en qualité de directeur et non pas de collaborateur, et qu'il regrette en conséquent de ne pouvoir écrire l'article promis sur les AYYŪBIDES et autres." Schacht to Gabrieli, November 12, 1956.

211. Lewis to Schacht, November 30, 1956.

2. Under New Management, 1957–1997

2.1. *The New Editorial Triumverate, 1957–1969*

The newly formatted editorial committee of Schacht, Lewis, and Pellat met for the third time in May 1957. A photograph was taken of this occasion, which was then used by E. J. Brill in an advertising leaflet (fig. 11). Schacht was dismayed by the picture's caption.

> The subscription of the picture in the Encyclopaedia prospectus reads now "A meeting of the Editorial Committee", whereas we had given you the text "This photograph was taken on the occasion of a meeting of the Editorial Committee". This wording would have been appropriate, but the printed text is not, because the picture shows us at an empty table making light conversation. A critical reader could make scathing remarks on that.[212]

Other problems and procedural issues, such as planning the editorial process during his absence, occupied Schacht in the summer before his departure for Columbia University. Production-wise, everything was on track for the publication of four fascicules, but there was a dip in subventions that Schacht asked Berg to trace: the Swedish money for 1956 and 1957, which Nyberg had promised at the executive committee meeting in Copenhagen, was still outstanding, and there was no word of the ACLS subvention for 1957. The Swedish funds were quickly transferred—the problem having been that Nyberg had not sent the correct address[213]—but to everyone's surprise the ACLS subvention had ceased. As Schacht found out once he reached New York City, the reason for this was merely a matter of the encyclopedia not having renewed its application: the ACLS was not giving money of its own but was meting out the $15,000 lump sum subvention from the Rockefeller Foundation, granted in 1952, and irregular subventions from Aramco in 1951, 1952, 1955, and 1956, which funds had now been exhausted.[214] While preparing a new applica-

212. Schacht to Wieder, June 6, 1957. Schacht's reprimand was answered, if with a month's delay, by the director's secretary: "We had to obtain more of an equilibrium between the type areas of the opposite pages 2 and 3 [...] unfortunately overlooking the subtle difference in meaning involved which you now bring to our attention." J. D. Verschoor to Schacht, July 9, 1957. The correct caption was printed to accompany the picture in *Books on the Orient*, a printed catalogue offered by the publisher to the "Members of the XXIVth Congress of Orientalists, Munich" (opp. p. 35), which took place August 28–September 4.

213. Nyberg to Berg, June 4, 1957.

214. "The ACLS funds for contribution to it (from the Rockefeller Foundation and Aramco) have been expended as of the end of 1956. Since these funds, in the order of $5,000 a year, constitute more than half of the total available to the operation, it is necessary to get a better picture of the organization before application can be made for further support." *ACLS Bulletin* 10 (1957), 4. In 1956 the amount of $2,000 from the Arabian-American Oil Company was disbursed to the encyclopedia (p. 2).

tion for funds, Schacht was pleasantly surprised to discover that the amount of European money equaled the American funds over the years.[215]

Although the editors were congratulating themselves on their schedule of publishing four fascicules a year, having perhaps forgotten that they were striving for six, the publisher regretted that it was not more:

> I sincerely hope that it will be possible to improve on that program. [...] The reason that we insist on a speedy production of the parts of the Encyclopaedia is that although the initial subscriptions to the Encyclopaedia were to our expectations the follow-up of subscribers is disappointing. People are hesitating to subscribe because, as one of the prospect subscribers wrote to us, he would probably not live to see the end of it![216]

At variance to this appeal was the fact that there was a limit to the amount of material the publisher could take on; experienced typesetters were retiring and replacements were scarce, Wieder told Schacht. Despite the concern with articles that were not submitted in time, there was actually a surfeit of material available, but it could not be processed quickly enough to warrant increased publication.

In early September Schacht crossed the Atlantic on the MS Westerdam and settled in a small flat minutes away from Columbia University, with an office on West 117th St. in the Near and Middle East Institute, founded in 1954. By December he could report to Berg that he was "having a very interesting and pleasant time here, although I am being kept rather busy myself."[217] His delving into the encyclopedia finances and the expected resolution of the American funds predicament[218] had reassured him that the next five years would be without upheaval on the money front, but liaising from afar between the publisher and the two offices in London and Paris was taxing. It affirmed how "impossible it would have been to run the Encyclopaedia permanently without the presence of a member of the Editorial Committee in Leiden and how wise the Executive Committee was to reject this proposal [made by Gibb] at the meeting in Rome," Schacht wrote

215. Schacht to Berg, November 18, 1957.

216. Wieder to Schacht, May 13, 1957. Wieder repeated this in a letter to Schacht of September 22, 1961 ("There is already a waning interest to attract new subscribers. People are hesitating in the knowledge that they will not see the work to be completed during their lifetime!"). The publisher's fear that the subscriber base would be drastically reduced by the time of the encyclopedia's completion lived on and was repeated in the early 1990s when the encyclopedia was midway through the letter M, and another attempt on the part of the publisher—short-lived—was made to speed up production, this time from three to four fascicules each year. All fascicules were then actually double ones, that is two in one.

217. Schacht to Berg, December 7, 1957.

218. A grant of $10,000 from Aramco and $15,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation to be disbursed over the next five years had been secured. *ACLS Annual Report 1957–1958*, 33; *ACLS Annual Report 1958–1959*, 29.

Wieder.[219] That very same day Schacht wrote to Lewis and Pellat that he had been offered a permanent position at Columbia.[220]

Schacht returned to Leiden in August of 1958 and headed to Uppsala for the executive meeting on September 8 and 9, 1958. Present at the meeting were the host Henrik Nyberg, Berg, Gabrieli, Lewis, Massé, Miles, Pellat, Pedersen, Schacht, and Wieder, in Posthumus's place, the latter having retired as director of E. J. Brill per April 1.[221] Gibb, García Gómez (who had been appointed Spanish ambassador in Baghdad), and Paret had sent their excuses. Wieder was elected to the executive committee without objection and his first item of business was to propose a twenty percent increase in the price of the fascicule, on account of costs having increased twenty-four percent since 1953. This also passed without objection after "Berg said that he did not regard the proposed price increase as excessive [and] Professor Schacht said that in his view the Encyclopaedia was good value for money even at the new price."[222] At that time, the print run was 2000 English copies, 1000 French, with a subscription base of 1500 and 600 respectively.

A criticism that the second edition was relying on too many reprinted articles from the first edition was dismissed by Schacht, who noted that the average number of reprints—six-and-one-third for the first five fascicules—had steadily been dropping and had been reduced to two-and-a-half per fascicule since October 1956. Pellat added that those that were now reprinted were first approved "by specialists as being still valid."[223]

219. Schacht to Wieder, January 28, 1958. This is ironic given that Schacht then went and did just that, as of 1959.

220. Schacht to Lewis, with copy to Pellat, January 28, 1958.

221. Posthumus to Schacht, February 14, 1958; Schacht to Posthumus, February 21, 1958. A letter from Schacht to an unknown addressee, dated August 15, 1958, one of a flurry of letters Schacht wrote on that date concerning the upcoming meeting in Uppsala, refers to Posthumus as being ill ("Wieder [...] viendra sans doute comme représentant de Posthumus, malade"). Posthumus died of cancer on April 18, 1960; Wieder to Schacht, June 24, 1960.

222. Detailed minutes—"for files only"—of the executive meeting held at Uppsala, September 8 and 9, 1958. The *Subject Guide to Books in Print* of 1960 (p. 1000) lists a price of $3 for fascicules 1–12, $3.75 from fascicule 13 onwards. By 1974, the price of a fascicule—which had doubled in size, from 64 to 128 pages, as of volume three—was listed at *f*48 (Brill catalogue, Summer 1974, p. 24), approx. $17.

223. Uppsala minutes (previous note), p. 1. Pellat's explanation in his autobiography (*Une vie d'arabisant*, 150) was that articles were taken over from the first edition in the event of the solicited new article never arriving ("Nous avons décidé depuis longtemps de ne pas attendre les articles en retard et de renvoyer au supplément, à moins que ceux de la première édition puissent être repris et mis à jour sans trop de peine"), or (p. 152) that on account of young scholars being unable to properly write for an encyclopedia, not understanding the art of concision, recourse was made to articles from the first edition that were of high quality and required only updating ("c'est pourquoi il nous arrive [...] de reprendre des articles de la première édition, quand ils portent une signature qui est une garantie de qualité, ne sont point périmés et ne demandent qu'une simple mise à jour et un complément de bibliographie").

An order of particularly important business was that of the Columbia University offer made to Schacht. He informed the meeting that he had accepted the invitation and he offered his resignation to the executive committee. His two fellow editors, who had been apprised earlier, argued that,

> for the continued effective functioning of that Committee, the participation of Professor Schacht was indispensable [... and] they were moreover firmly of the opinion that any difficulties which might arise from Professor Schacht's transfer to New York would be insignificant in comparison with the disruption that would follow his complete withdrawal. They therefore recommended strongly that the Editorial Committee be allowed to continue as at present constituted.[224]

The committee members unanimously agreed, adjourning for lunch after Schacht fielded an inquiry from Massé whether an author had the right to exceed the size limit of an article. The noncommittal answer was that "a reasonable request of this nature," unlike "the flagrant case of the article Āmū Daryā,"[225] would be allowed. The short afternoon session was given over to a report in person by Muhammad Shafi about progress on the Urdu encyclopedia. The finance committee met the following morning to report on the status of subventions; other than Pellat informing the committee that the Moroccan subvention of approximately £200 had ended as from 1958 and Berg confirming that the yearly Dutch subvention from the ZWO of ƒ2,000 (also approximately £200), available since 1956, was still not disposable owing to Dutch administrative regulations (as he had announced at the meeting in Rome two years ago), there were no financial hiccups to report.[226]

Although no mention of it was made in the minutes, pursuant to the meeting Armand Abel was proposed as member and elected to the executive committee by broad acclaim.[227]

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224. Uppsala minutes (n222, above), p. 3.

225. Authored by Bertold Spuler, the printed article on the river Oxus comprises six columns (approx. 6,600 words); as printed, it was still shortened by the Editors. The minutes (n222, above) make rather gratuitous mention, citing Schacht, of the fact that "the former Secretary-General [Stern] had encouraged the author to reinsert on the galley proof portions of the MS, which had been excised by the Editors."

226. Uppsala minutes (n222, above), Appendix II, para. 4. One also finds the contradictory "Professor Pellat stated that the Tunisian and Moroccan subventions would also continue" (p. 4), however, but this must be a typing error for "Tunisian and Algerian."

227. Schacht to [Executive Committee members], October 20, 1958. According to a letter from Schacht to Nyberg, December 18, 1958, all but Nyberg himself, García Gómez, and Massé had sent their affirmation, whereby Abel was "unanimously elected." Abel was informed of this by Schacht on January 3, 1959. Armand Abel (1903–1973) was professor at the Free University of Brussels and, from 1958, also at the University of Ghent. For an academic vita, see that by Pierre Salmon in *Mélanges d'islamologie: Volume dédiée à la mémoire de Armand Abel par ses collègues, ses élèves et ses amis*, ed. P. Salmon (Leiden, 1974),

A dust-up concerning the Urdu encyclopedia opened the new year of 1959. An announcement in *The Pakistan Times* from November 25, 1958, forwarded by the Dutch ambassador H. H. Dingemans[228] to E. J. Brill and then by Wieder on to Schacht, contradicted on several fronts Shafi's report to the executive committee in Uppsala. Shafi is reported to have stated there:

> After permission had originally been granted for the Urdu Encyclopaedia to use material from the Encyclopaedia of Islam, he had to await the publication of each fascicule before the contents of that fascicule could be translated. 2–3 years had been required for the translation of vol. I of the Urdu Encyclopaedia. The work was done by scholars who were not necessarily Orientalists. The translations were then sent to Urdu scholars for vetting, and, as a third step, were sent to Orientalists for examination of the subject matter. In some instances correction of facts had been necessary. The translation of Vol. I of the Urdu Encyclopaedia was now complete; [two-fifths] had been sent to the printer, but a few months must still elapse before printing could be begun owing to technical difficulties over choice of paper etc. The public were critical of the delay in the appearance of the first volume but work had only begun in 1951. 10 vols. each of 1000 pages were envisaged.[229]

In the newspaper's announcement, the first and second editions of the encyclopedia were commingled ("Compilation of the fifth volume of the English edition was begun in 1954") and the imminent publication of two fascicules was reported ("by the end of next month"), to be followed by a "periodical flow of one fascicule a month in the future [for a total of] 20 volumes spread over 20.000 closely printed pages"). Schacht was "personally, not at all surprised though indeed indignant at the whole tone of the statement which must, being based on a Government hand-out, go back to [...] Shafi and his office." He wanted it known that it "was Professor Gibb's idea to enter into formal relations with the Urdu Encyclopaedia of Islam, and the late Professor Lévi-Provençal and I acquiesced in it, although we should never have entertained it ourselves."[230] He asked for "30 cyclostyled copies" of the announcement to mail to the executive committee for the next meeting in 1960. When Shafi wrote Dingemans that the announcement had "several factual

1–5; and the notice by Annette Destrée, in *Nouvelle biographie nationale*, 13 vols. (Brussels, 1988–<2014>), 1:13–14.

228. Herman Henry Dingemans (1907–1985), studied under Wensinck, earning his doctorate from Leiden in 1938 with the thesis "Alghazali's boek der liefde" (a part-translation of *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, which Annemarie Schimmel in *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* [Chapel Hill, 1975], 94n71 declares "not fully satisfactory"). He chose the life of a civil servant and was posted in Jeddah (1939–1940; 1945–1950) and the Dutch Indies before his appointment as ambassador to Pakistan. *Wie is dat? Biografische gegevens van Nederlanders die een vooraanstaande plaats [...]* (The Hague, 1956), 141.

229. Uppsala minutes (n222, above), p. 4.

230. Schacht to Wieder, January 17, 1959.

mistakes,"[231] Schacht advised his fellow editors to wait until the next executive committee meeting to question Shafi "rather than tackling him now and having the wind taken out of our sails by some lame excuses and disclaimers of responsibility."[232]

With Schacht ensconced in New York from August 1959 on,[233] the three assistants—Dumont in Paris,[234] Savory in London, and De Bruijn in Leiden—came into more prominence; letters between them about manuscripts and production issues flew back and forth. The hope was that five fascicules would appear in 1959, up from four in 1958, but Wieder was pessimistic—"manuscripts are coming in very slowly," he wrote to Schacht in November, "and we are not able to keep the machine which has been reserved for the Encyclopaedia, busy all the time."[235] Despite this, the year's total was four fascicules, with a fifth following immediately in January, and the editors were pleased. "We certainly cannot work on the assumption, which you seem to make, that the Encyclopaedia must keep your composing machine in full employment," Schacht wrote Wieder. "We trust you do not forget the considerable improvement, of more than 100 per cent, that has been achieved by the present Editorial Committee."[236] With the number of pages already surpassing one thousand, it was decided at the editorial committee meeting in Paris in November 1959 to end the first volume at the conclusion of the letter B rather than the originally planned C.[237] Even though the letter C would fit into a single fascicule, "this additional fascicule would make the volume too unhandy," Schacht explained to Wieder.[238]

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231. Shafi to Dingemans, January 26, 1959.

232. Schacht to Lewis and Pellat, February 4, 1959. The exact reason for Schacht's display of temper is hard to pinpoint, unless the incident fueled his annoyance with Gibb.

233. Before the end of the year, he and his wife had taken up residence in Englewood, NJ, "on the other side of the Hudson river, about 50 minutes from Columbia University by public transport." Schacht to Berg, January 4, 1960.

234. Camille Dumont (1913–1975) was first hired by Lévi-Provençal in 1945 as a secretary (*sténo-dactylographe*) and began working for the encyclopedia in 1956, when Pellat was appointed editor. He had a degree in history and was a graduate of the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO), one of the top schools (*grandes écoles*). Although there is barely a whisper of him in the encyclopedia archives—only a few letters by him that concern aspects of administration are found—he was both spoken of and thought highly of by his encyclopedia colleagues for his "conscience exemplaire" (Pellat, *Une vie d'arabisant*, 148). He "kept the most meticulous records," wrote Victor Ménage, his London counterpart; he and Pellat made "a great team (Colonial and Sergeant-Major)" (personal communication, February 24, 2008). For this reason, inter alia, he was given the title of Secretary-General in 1966. He died after a long illness. For an equally respectful but little informative remembrance, see that by GL [Gérard Lecomte], in *Arabica* 22 (1975), 113.

235. Wieder to Schacht, November 17, 1959. Not getting a response, this complaint was repeated, with an enumeration of the decreasing numbers of hours the machine had been in use, in a letter from Wieder to the editors of June 9, 1960 (see chapter three).

236. Schacht to Wieder, July 1, 1960.

237. Fifth Progress Report of the Editorial Committee, January 1960.

238. Schacht to Wieder, February 17, 1960. Wieder had not been directly informed of the editorial

The twenty-second fascicule—published with the preliminary pages in July 1960—ended the first volume at p. 1359 (p. 1399 in the French edition), of which a bound advance copy in both languages was displayed at the Twenty-Fifth International Congress of Orientalists, held in Moscow, August 9–16, 1960. The volume was sold for *f*250.[239]

Lewis had decamped to Columbia University as well in January 1960. He and Schacht tried in vain to persuade the Rockefeller Foundation, one of the encyclopedia's subsidizers, to fund a trip for Pellat so that Pellat could visit colleagues and an editorial meeting could be held.[240] Lewis's stay as a visiting professor was limited to the spring term and he returned to London at the end of May. Shortly thereafter Savory left for the University of Toronto as visiting associate professor for the academic year 1960–1; the position of editorial secretary for the London office was taken over by John Burton-Page, who continued in this capacity when Savory's visiting position was made permanent that year.[241] In July 1960 Pellat's secretary Simone Nurit makes her first appearance in the archive, standing in for Dumont who was on holiday.[242]

Upon the publication of the first volume the copyright issue once again raised its head.[243] Burton-Page noticed while proofing that the first volume's preliminary pages included a requirement to obtain written permission from the publisher for reprinting, which had been added to all the fascicules as well, but in their obliviousness the editorial committee had given permission to the editors of a volume of Gibbiana to reprint from

decision and was concerned when he heard it from a staff member in February, as the encyclopedia had been consistently announced as a five-volume set.

239. Listed at $75 in *Books in Print* (1960); and for £23 3s in *Luzac's Oriental List and Book Review* 71,3 (July–Sept., 1960), [64]. On August 8, Dumont returned corrections and additions to the preliminary pages of the first volume, so that the advance copy must not have included these pages, or included the as yet uncorrected proof pages. Dumont to De Bruijn, August 8, 1960.

240. Schacht to Charles Fahs, Director for the Humanities, Rockefeller Foundation, February 29, 1960; Fahs to Schacht, March 29, 1960 (suggesting that "Columbia and the other institutions directly involved may be able to find the means [...]"). The editorial meeting was held in Paris, June 28–29, 1960.

241. For John Garrard Burton-Page (1921–2005), a scholar of Indo-Islamic history and architecture who spent his university career at SOAS in London, retiring in 1982, see G. Michell, in *Indian Islamic Architecture* (Leiden, 2008), ix–xv.

242. Mme. Nurit to "Monsieur" (presumably De Bruijn), July 21, 1960. Simone Nurit, always called Mme. Nurit by everyone but Gérard Lecomte, with whom she was the closest, was originally hired as a secretary by Lévi-Provençal in 1945 and began to work for the encyclopedia in 1952, eventually taking over all the French secretarial tasks. Victim to the antipathy between Pellat and Janine Sourdel, who became a vice president of the Sorbonne, Mme. Nurit was assigned upon Pellat's retirement to manage the estate Morigny (fig. 13), donated to Paris IV by the Saint-Périer family in 1978, which was used as a conference center for the Sorbonne (and, delightfully, as the meeting place of the editorial meetings from 1988; the last meeting there took place in March 1994). See Pellat, *Une vie d'arabisant*, 134–35, 148–49.

243. Cf. n26, above.

the encyclopedia.[244] He notified Lewis, who thought that the copyright was "not really the publishers' concern" and asked Burton-Page to change the notice, giving copyright to the editors, and to let Schacht and Pellat know.[245] Schacht demurred, pointing out that the "question of the copyright is difficult. There exists a contract between Brill and the Encyclopaedia, signed on behalf of the latter by Gibb, Kramers and L.-P. [...] and it is possible that the copyright is mentioned there." He suggested that the best course of action would be that Brill agree to a joint copyright, although "leaving the formal copyright to Brill would, incidentally, in my opinion save us trouble in the long run."[246] The end result was that the copyright issue remained murky but written permission from the editors was required for reproduction of the content (at least until the seventh volume, published in 1993, when Brill replaced "the editors" with "the publisher").

The executive committee met again in Amsterdam at the Netherlands Academy of Sciences at the end of August 1960. Present were Abel, Berg, Gabrieli, Gibb, Lewis, Miles, Massé, Nyberg, Paret, Pedersen, Pellat, Schacht, Wieder, the two secretaries Burton-Page and Dumont, and De Bruijn, listed as "representative of the Leiden office." Along with the usual matters pertaining to the encyclopedia brought up at these meetings—progress of the encyclopedia, the financial state of health, and sundry questions—the committee was informed of the plan to publish an atlas in connection with the encyclopedia and the steps already taken.[247] A request from the Bengali Academy for permission to reproduce articles for a Bengali edition of the encyclopedia was granted,[248] and the Polish scholar of Ibadism, Tadeusz Lewicki,[249] was nominated to the executive committee. As president of the executive committee, Berg would send an invitation to the Polish Academy.

The rest of the year 1960 passed without major disruptions. De Bruijn informed Schacht in the middle of October that he would be starting a job as curator at the Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, but that he would continue with the encyclopaedia. Schacht gave him two tips of rare items should he have authority to acquire for the museum: the baked bricks made from the soil of Karbala that pilgrims bought to place their foreheads

244. Published in 1962 as H. A. R. Gibb, *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, ed. Stanford J. Shaw and William R. Polk (Boston: Beacon Press). The article Taʾrīkh from the encyclopedia was reprinted.

245. Burton-Page to Schacht, July 14, 1960.

246. Schacht to Burton-Page, July 16, 1960. This is the first and only mention of a contract, which none of the later editors has ever seen and of whose existence none knows. It is not in any file belonging to the encyclopedia, and per Berg in 1952 (n26, above), shortly after Kramers's death, the copyright belonged to the Dutch Academy.

247. For a brief history of the atlas, see appendix three.

248. No mention is made in the minutes of the contretemps surrounding the Urdu encyclopedia. For the Bengali version from the Bengali Academy, see the review in *Encyclopedias about Muslim Civilization*, ed. A. Khanbaghi (Edinburgh, 2009), 150–51.

249. For Tadeusz Lewicki (1906–1992), see the remembrance by Edward Szymański, in *Africana Bulletin* 41 (1993), 159–62.

on during prayer, which Schacht had only seen in the British Museum and, he suggested, might be picked up cheaply by someone on an archeological or diplomatic mission; and a traditional set of copper kettles that the bride contributed to the marriage in parts of Egypt, particularly Damietta.[250] A few complaints reached Burton-Page that the table of the Buwayhids in the English edition was typeset with too little margin so that the dates disappeared in the binding, but Wieder dismissed the suggestion to reprint it and send it separately to the subscribers for inclusion into the bound volume as too complicated and not worth "the slight inconvenience caused by the actual printed table."[251] A month later, however, it was discovered that the final page of the Addenda and Corrigenda had been accidently omitted from the preliminary pages and Brill was forced to acquiesce in the reprinting of both.

Although the financial state of the encyclopaedia had been pronounced healthy at the Amsterdam meeting of the executive committee, with a caveat as to the continuation of some subventions, in March 1961 Schacht applied for a UNESCO subsidy of $4,000 through the Union Académique Internationale. The estimated budget he enclosed showed a yearly deficit of $3,822. Payments to editors, assistants, authors, and translators combined for $7,784, or 71.4%, of the expenses, with the remainder of $3,108 given over to travel, meeting, and office expenses.[252] In addition to the "irregular" subventions from the British Academy ($280), Danish Academy ($280), Swedish Academy ($200), and Iranian Oil Participants ($1,400), Schacht was particularly concerned about the Aramco commitment, which because of "a severe retrenchment" and the early retirements of a few influential persons could not be counted on to be renewed for a five-year period when it ended in 1963. Nor were the "regular" but by now reduced subventions for the French edition from the remaining North African states of Tunisia and Algeria certain.

The publisher's complaint about the slow manuscript delivery and ensuing slowed production continued apace. Wieder took it upon himself to suggest to Schacht that it was necessary to reinstate an editor in Leiden in order to coordinate the proofs, proposing the newly appointed successor to Schacht at Leiden, Jan Brugman. This did not go over well. Schacht wrote off Brugman in a few finely drawn sentences ("personally a pleasant man, but he is neither an Arabic nor a Islamic scholar"; his doctorate "a useful but not really penetrating piece of work which, moreover, shows an astonishing ignorance of the 'classical' sources of Islamic law earlier than the 19th century"; "I do not see which useful contribution Brugman could make to our work on the scholarly plane, his only subject being Islamic legal modernism in Egypt").[253] Perhaps stung by his being

250. De Bruijn to Schacht, October 18, 1960; Schacht to De Bruijn, October 25, 1960.

251. Burton-Page to De Bruijn, October 26, 1960; Wieder to Burton-Page, October 31, 1960.

252. Schacht to Van Groningen, President, Section of Letters, Royal Netherlands Academy, March 6, 1961, with enclosed draft budget.

253. Copy to Paris of a letter Schacht sent to Lewis (though the copy has no addressee) dated May

succeeded by Brugman "merely because no one else was available," or because Brugman ventured into Schachtian territory, or truly because Brugman was a lesser scholar (which is not disputed), he added another dig at his erstwhile colleagues: "As far as 'national pride' is concerned, let Holland produce an Arabic or Islamic scholar of sufficient standing first, someone like Bonebakker whom the Drewes lobby prevented from becoming my successor in Leiden."[254] It could also not have pleased Schacht that Wieder proposed an editor in Leiden, which nominally was Schacht's position to begin with, because of complaints about progress. He reminded Wieder that the pace of publication—four fascicules yearly—was a rhythm that "only the present Editorial Committee has been able to establish." He added,

> So please do not say: "If we have the full cooperation of the editors, this can be realised from our part"—as if the primary interest of the Editorial Committee in seeing the new edition of the Encyclopaedia completed as soon as possible, could be called into question by you.[255]

The correspondence at this time between Schacht and Wieder is one of completely antithetical viewpoints, with Wieder complaining of "the slow income of new manuscripts" and Schacht disabusing him of that notion and demanding proofs of delivered articles. The ultimate problem was one of vantage point: the publisher required a completed fascicule in manuscript, the editors were plagued by manuscripts that were submitted late. The combination of these shortcomings meant that production was stymied although manuscripts were incoming, just not always in order.

Toward the end of 1961, Schacht completely lost his sang-froid and complained to Burton-Page that Wieder "seems to regard us merely as his unpaid touts who are to provide him with profitable business."[256] Slow turnaround was particularly aggravating to Schacht, who complained about intervals between the proofs stages lasting six or more

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25, 1961, in answer to one of May 18, which is missing in the archive. Wieder suggests Brugman in a personal letter to Schacht of June 15, referencing a discussion with Lewis, presumably about this, on Wieder's annual visit to London. Jan Brugman (1923–2004) succeeded Schacht in Leiden as Professor of Arabic, and retired after thirty years in 1990. He published his doctorate (*De betekenis van het Mohammedaanse recht in het hedendaagse Egypte* [The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1960]) and *An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt* (Leiden, 1984), but was perhaps better known for his essayistic pieces in Dutch literary reviews such as *Hollands Maandblad*. He served on the board of directors of E. J. Brill from 1969 to 1995. For a brief remembrance (in Dutch), see that by Gerard-René de Groot, in *Recht van de Islam* 23 (2006), 13–15.

254. The Drewes "lobby," of which Schacht spoke, was supporters of G. W. J. Drewes, a scholar of Indonesia—and particularly of the Javanese and Malay languages—who, bizarrely, was appointed as Professor of Arabic Language and Literature. For more on Drewes, see below, n288.

255. Schacht to Wieder, October 2, 1961.

256. Schacht to Burton-Page, November 15, 1961.

months.[257] Matters had reached such a low point that Schacht began collecting a separate file of correspondence with Wieder, to which Lewis was sending copies of his own letters, an uncomfortable reminder of the Stern file, also initiated by Schacht a few years back.[258] The complete loss in the mail of the corrected galleys of a fascicule before the summer of 1961 had thrown a spanner in the touted fascicule production; by the time of these aggravations leading into 1962, only three fascicules of the second volume had appeared.

The following few years were mostly taken up with procedural problems and accounting relating to encyclopedia manuscripts and proofs as well as with authors who did not deliver, with the end result that the article in question had to be taken over at the last moment by an editor. Burton-Page had a "study break," which he spent in India in 1963–4, and was replaced by Victor Ménage as of April 1963, at which time "the London end was in a terrible muddle."[259] In February 1963 Berg got around to extending the invitation to Lewicki to join the executive committee—which had been agreed upon eighteen months previously—and it was gratefully accepted, with the caveat that Jagiellonian University, where he was professor, did not have the wherewithal to provide Lewicki's travel expenses to executive meetings.[260]

A tiff took place with the Conseil Internationale de la Philosophie et des Sciences Humaines (CIPSH), a member body of UNESCO, which exposed Schacht's imperial side and "forceful character."[261] A subvention of $1,500 had been granted to the encyclopedia for the years 1963 and 1964, but it came with conditions that were deemed excessive. The tiff was sparked, however, by the CIPSH reaction to Schacht's write-up on the encyclopedia in the Newsletter of the American Council of Learned Societies, which appeared in

257. "I received from Brill today the columns of XXVI/1 and 2 in English. (For our record, I should like to mention that I read and returned to London and Paris, respectively, the columns of XXV on 15th April and and [*sic*] on 11th May.)" Schacht to Burton-Page, November 16, 1961. The identity of the perpetrator of slow work here is not clear: the London office, the Paris office, Brill, or all three. For the very complex production method, which brought on lapses from all parties, see chapter three, below.

258. A handwritten note marked "For your 'Brill' file," sent by Burton-Page as a P.S. to an undated letter, pointed out that galley proofs of two articles had not been received, and not for the first time.

259. Part of Burton-Page's preparations for his sabbatical included "building [his] own vehicle for a trip to India," which rendered Schacht "speechless with admiration." Schacht to Burton-Page, November 21, 1962. Victor L. Ménage (1920–2015), succeeded Paul Wittek as Chair of Turkish at the University of London in 1973 and held the chair until "pushed into early retirement" by Margaret Thatcher in 1983. In correspondence with him, he was adamant that he did not relish revisiting the past or "look back with pleasure or satisfaction on [his] years at SOAS or [his] stint with EI," asking only, if need be, for a cursory mention. Personal communications from Victor Ménage, February 24 and March 8, 2008.

260. Berg to the Rector, Université Jagellonne, Cracovie, February 4, 1963; Kazimierz Lepszy, Rector, to Berg, April 24, 1963.

261. George Hourani's remembrance of Schacht, in *JAOS* 90 (1970), 166; cf. Wakin, *Remembering Joseph Schacht*, 12.

February 1963.[262] The Secretary-General, Jean d'Ormesson, had taken exception to the omission of the patronage of CIPSH, while the International Union of Academies was "duly" mentioned.[263] Schacht responded cordially, but riposted that he "could not possibly refer to all Academies and other scholarly organisations which have taken an interest in the Encyclopaedia;" he merely thought it "proper to refer to the one international scholarly organisation which is mentioned on the title-page both of the first and of the new edition."[264] D'Ormesson was not to be silenced, however; his answer, on May 14, 1963, pointed out that it was one of the "strictest rules" that UNESCO and CIPSH be mentioned when and wherever, including on the title-pages of publications published under the auspices of CIPSH. He helpfully enclosed a copy of the Administrative Rules, which Schacht had "probably received with the form used for request for subventions," and a reference to page and article number of said rule.

The four-page leaflet of Administrative Rules, seemingly completely new to Schacht, has been marked with Schacht's telltale marginal stripes. These highlight that subsidies were intended only for meeting expenses or expenses of preparation or printing of publications; when allotted for publications, they were to be expressly used for printing expenses or fees of collaborators; all expenditures made with the subsidy had to be accounted for by way of receipts or bills; UNESCO had to be acknowledged on the cover and CIPSH in a preface or introduction; and the CIPSH had to be "very precisely and regularly informed" of activities of and changes to the subsidized body. Schacht was galled. Unfortunately, this epistolary communication with d'Ormesson followed by just days a new application by Schacht for a UNESCO subvention of $4,000 for both of the years 1965 and 1966.[265]

Waiting to confer with Lewis and Pellat at an editorial meeting in London on June 7 and 8, 1963, Schacht wrote to enlighten Berg, who was visiting at the University of Chicago, on exactly what had irked him—not only the "onerous conditions" but also the "pretensions of Monsieur d'Ormesson which go even beyond the printed conditions."[266] In particular, the

> uncalled-for impertinence. In implying that I ought to have mentioned the CIPSH in my report on the Encyclopaedia, Monsieur d'Ormesson tries to extend Unesco aid and CIPSH control even beyond the field covered by the printed

262. *ACLS Newsletter* 14,2 (1963), 8–10.

263. D'Ormesson to Schacht, April 17, 1963. For homages to Jean d'Ormesson (1925–2017), French novelist and Dean of the Académie Française, see Jean Bingen, "Jean d'Ormesson and the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies," *Diogenes* 53 (2006), 5–7; Arnaud Ramsay, *Jean d'Ormesson ou l'élégance du bonheur* (Issy-les-Moulineaux, 2009).

264. Schacht to d'Ormesson, May 3, 1963.

265. Schacht to Charles Manneback, Administrative Secretary U.A.I, Brussels, April 1, 1963.

266. Schacht to Berg, May 25, 1963.

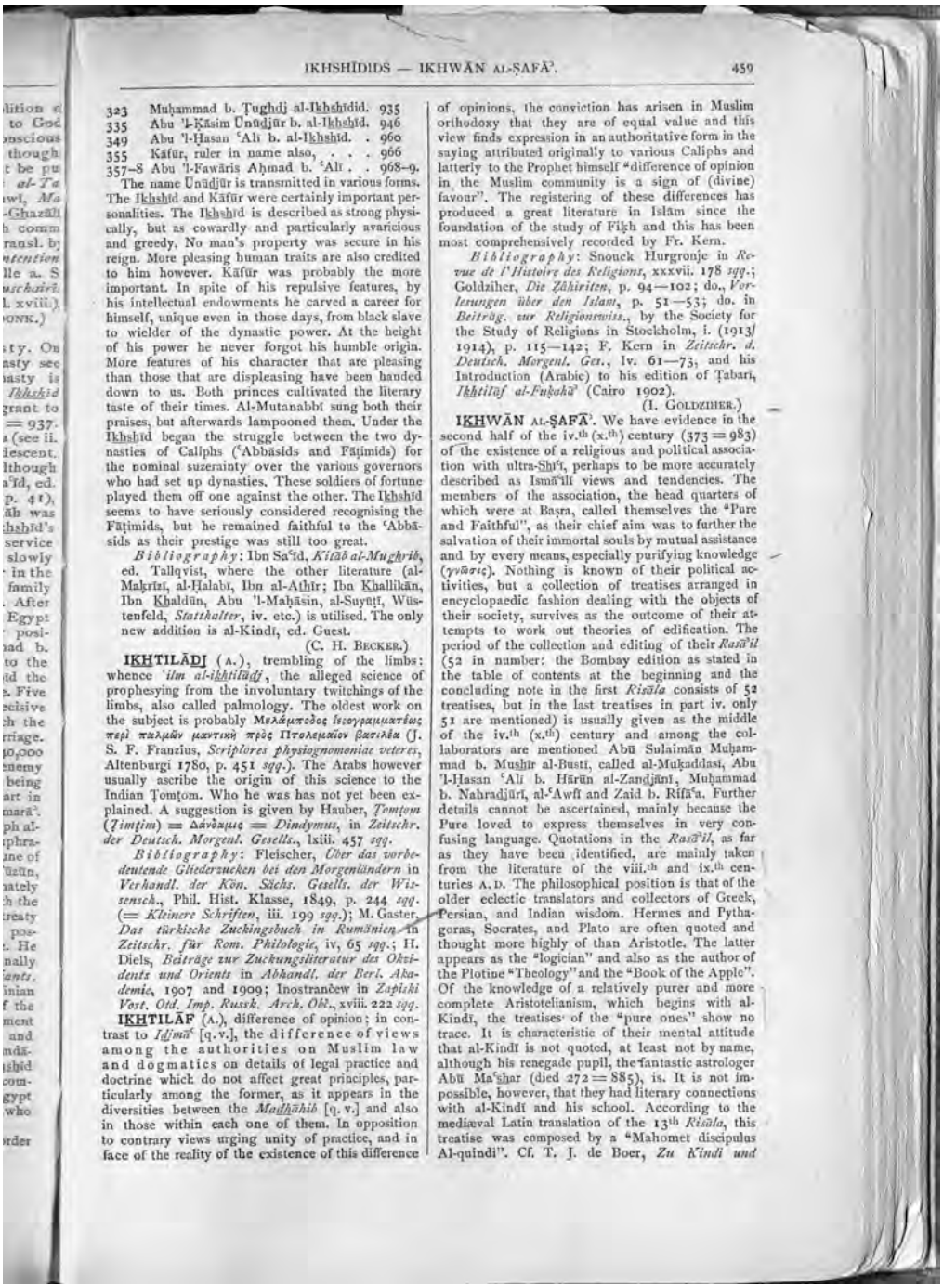
> stipulations. I wrote my report at the end of 1962, when the Encyclopaedia had not received a penny from Unesco, and my report is exclusively concerned with the history and the scholarly character of the Encyclopaedia, which started long before Unesco and CIPSH were ever thought of. I was not even obliged to mention the UAI, and I took already exception to Monsieur d'Ormesson's word "duly" in his first letter. I thought for a moment of writing him an outspoken reply, but he has wasted enough of my time, and I cannot stand any more of his hogwash prose.[267]

Taking a back seat to the CIPSH provocation were the death of Muhammad Shafi and a request concerning an Indonesian translation of the *Shorter Encyclopaedia*. The editors agreed that the new UNESCO application would be withdrawn and the monies already granted would be declined; Schacht would write the UNESCO bureaucrats Manneback and d'Ormesson accordingly. However, Berg was not in favor; such a decision had to be authorized by the executive committee, he wrote, and moreover, the cancellation had not reached UNESCO in time for the application to be withdrawn from the agenda of its just concluded meeting in Vienna. Given that d'Ormesson had told Berg there that UNESCO subsidies could be used for much more than Schacht thought, including for editorial meeting costs, Berg felt that there could no longer be objection to using UNESCO money, and the demand to list UNESCO as subsidizing body as of January 1963 was not unreasonable. Nevertheless, Schacht was adamant:

> Thank you for your letter of 27th June, which I will translate into English and bring to the attention of my colleagues on the Editorial Committee when we are all back from our respective journeys of research during the vacation. In the meantime, I should like to confirm to you that we shall certainly report to the Executive Committee our negative conclusion with regard to a Unesco subvention and our reasons which go far beyond what I wrote to you in my last letter, and that we maintain our decision not to take up the Unesco subvention for 1963–64 and to cancel our application for the years 1965–66. On this last point, we wrote to the Administrative Secretary of the U.A.I. on 10th June, in good time for him to take action. I am writing this merely "à titre d'information" during my holidays when I have not even got a typewriter at my disposal.[268]

The little concealed insinuation that the editors had at the moment far better things to do with their time and that Schacht was being overly taxed on his holiday could not have been lost on Berg. Outside of a letter to Schacht from said Administrative Secretary of the U.A.I., reiterating that the withdrawal of the new application had reached him too late, no more letters on this matter, if there were any, survive. Berg continued to press the

267. Schacht to Berg, May 29, 1963.
268. Schacht to Berg, June 10, 1963; Berg to Schacht, June 27, 1963; Schacht to Berg, July 1, 1963.



IKHSHĪDIDS — IKHWĀN AL-ṢAFĀ'. 459

323 Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj al-Ikhshīdid. 935
335 Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ūnūdjūr b. al-Ikhshīd. 946
349 Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ikhshīd. . 960
355 Kāfūr, ruler in name also, . . . 966
357–8 Abu 'l-Fawāris Aḥmad b. ʿAlī . . 968–9.

The name Ūnūdjūr is transmitted in various forms. The Ikhshīd and Kāfūr were certainly important personalities. The Ikhshīd is described as strong physically, but as cowardly and particularly avaricious and greedy. No man's property was secure in his reign. More pleasing human traits are also credited to him however. Kāfūr was probably the more important. In spite of his repulsive features, by his intellectual endowments he carved a career for himself, unique even in those days, from black slave to wielder of the dynastic power. At the height of his power he never forgot his humble origin. More features of his character that are pleasing than those that are displeasing have been handed down to us. Both princes cultivated the literary taste of their times. Al-Mutanabbī sung both their praises, but afterwards lampooned them. Under the Ikhshīd began the struggle between the two dynasties of Caliphs (ʿAbbāsids and Fāṭimids) for the nominal suzerainty over the various governors who had set up dynasties. These soldiers of fortune played them off one against the other. The Ikhshīd seems to have seriously considered recognising the Fāṭimids, but he remained faithful to the ʿAbbāsids as their prestige was still too great.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿīd, *Kitāb al-Mughrib*, ed. Tallqvist, where the other literature (al-Makrīzī, al-Ḥalabī, Ibn al-Aṯīr; Ibn Ḳhallikān, Ibn Ḳhaldūn, Abu 'l-Maḥāsin, al-Suyūṭī, Wüstenfeld, *Statthalter*, iv. etc.) is utilised. The only new addition is al-Kindī, ed. Guest.

(C. H. BECKER.)

IKHTILĀDJ (A.), trembling of the limbs: whence *ʿilm al-ikhtilādj*, the alleged science of prophesying from the involuntary twitchings of the limbs, also called palmology. The oldest work on the subject is probably Μελάμποδος ἱστογραμματέως περὶ παλμῶν μαντικὴ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον βασιλέα (J. S. F. Franzius, *Scriptores physiognomoniae veteres*, Altenburgi 1780, p. 451 *sqq.*). The Arabs however usually ascribe the origin of this science to the Indian Ṭomṭom. Who he was has not yet been explained. A suggestion is given by Hauber, *Ṭomṭom* (*Ṭimṭim*) = Δάνδυμις = *Dindymus*, in *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesells.*, lxiii. 457 *sqq.*

Bibliography: Fleischer, *Über das vorbedeutende Gliederzucken bei den Morgenländern* in *Verhandl. der Kön. Sächs. Gesells. der Wissensch.*, Phil. Hist. Klasse, 1849, p. 244 *sqq.* (= *Kleinere Schriften*, iii. 199 *sqq.*); M. Gaster, *Das türkische Zuchingsbuch in Rumänien* in *Zeitschr. für Rom. Philologie*, iv, 65 *sqq.*; H. Diels, *Beiträge zur Zuckungsliteratur des Okzidentz und Orients* in *Abhandl. der Berl. Akademie*, 1907 and 1909; Inostrancev in *Zapiski Vost. Otd. Imp. Russk. Arch. Obš.*, xviii. 222 *sqq.*

IKHTILĀF (A.), difference of opinion; in contrast to *Idjmāʿ* [q.v.], the difference of views among the authorities on Muslim law and dogmatics on details of legal practice and doctrine which do not affect great principles, particularly among the former, as it appears in the diversities between the *Madhāhib* [q.v.] and also in those within each one of them. In opposition to contrary views urging unity of practice, and in face of the reality of the existence of this difference of opinions, the conviction has arisen in Muslim orthodoxy that they are of equal value and this view finds expression in an authoritative form in the saying attributed originally to various Caliphs and latterly to the Prophet himself "difference of opinion in the Muslim community is a sign of (divine) favour". The registering of these differences has produced a great literature in Islām since the foundation of the study of Fiḳh and this has been most comprehensively recorded by Fr. Kern.

Bibliography: Snouck Hurgronje in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, xxxvii. 178 *sqq.*; Goldziher, *Die Ẓāhiriten*, p. 94—102; do., *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, p. 51—53; do. in *Beiträg. zur Religionswiss.*, by the Society for the Study of Religions in Stockholm, i. (1913/1914), p. 115—142; F. Kern in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, lv. 61—73, and his Introduction (Arabic) to his edition of Ṭabarī, *Ikhtilāf al-Fuḳahāʾ* (Cairo 1902).

(I. GOLDZIHER.)

IKHWĀN AL-ṢAFĀʾ. We have evidence in the second half of the iv.th (x.th) century (373 = 983) of the existence of a religious and political association with ultra-Shīʿī, perhaps to be more accurately described as Ismāʿīlī views and tendencies. The members of the association, the head quarters of which were at Baṣra, called themselves the "Pure and Faithful", as their chief aim was to further the salvation of their immortal souls by mutual assistance and by every means, especially purifying knowledge (γνῶσις). Nothing is known of their political activities, but a collection of treatises arranged in encyclopaedic fashion dealing with the objects of their society, survives as the outcome of their attempts to work out theories of edification. The period of the collection and editing of their *Rasāʾil* (52 in number: the Bombay edition as stated in the table of contents at the beginning and the concluding note in the first *Risāla* consists of 52 treatises, but in the last treatises in part iv. only 51 are mentioned) is usually given as the middle of the iv.th (x.th) century and among the collaborators are mentioned Abū Sulaimān Muḥammad b. Mushīr al-Bustī, called al-Muḳaddasī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Hārūn al-Zandjānī, Muḥammad b. Nahradjūrī, al-ʿAwfī and Zaid b. Rifāʿa. Further details cannot be ascertained, mainly because the Pure loved to express themselves in very confusing language. Quotations in the *Rasāʾil*, as far as they have been identified, are mainly taken from the literature of the viii.th and ix.th centuries A. D. The philosophical position is that of the older eclectic translators and collectors of Greek, Persian, and Indian wisdom. Hermes and Pythagoras, Socrates, and Plato are often quoted and thought more highly of than Aristotle. The latter appears as the "logician" and also as the author of the Plotine "Theology" and the "Book of the Apple". Of the knowledge of a relatively purer and more complete Aristotelianism, which begins with al-Kindī, the treatises of the "pure ones" show no trace. It is characteristic of their mental attitude that al-Kindī is not quoted, at least not by name, although his renegade pupil, the fantastic astrologer Abū Maʿshar (died 272 = 885), is. It is not impossible, however, that they had literary connections with al-Kindī and his school. According to the mediæval Latin translation of the 13th *Risāla*, this treatise was composed by a "Mahomet discipulus Al-quindi". Cf. T. J. de Boer, *Zu Kindi und*

Figure 1. A page from the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, first edition.

Nasab Kurayš, éd. Lévi-Provençal, 46 sq., 82 sq., 286, 309, 351; Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, éd. ʿAwwād, 157 sq.; Ibn Durayd, *Ištiḳāḳ*, Caire 1958, 268, 272, 307, 323, 343, 407; Bakrī, *Muʿdjam mā staʿdjam*, Caire 1945-51, 279 sq., 301, 442, 494, 573 sq., 593, 781 sq., 882; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila*, éd. Diwald-Wilzer (Bibl. Isl. 21), 19-23; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-naḥwiyyīn*, Caire 1954, 22 sq., 28 sq., 235; ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Lughawī, *Marātib al-naḥwiyyīn*, Caire 1955, 65; Caetani, *Chronographia*, 851, 862 sq., 881 sq., 892-5, 916-8, 925-7, 938, 947, 949, 969 sq., 979-81, 993-6, 1009 sq., 1020, 1034, 1052, 1073, 1087, 1120, 1136, 1150, 1159-61, 1167; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, 141-60 (trad. ang. 226-57); J. Périer, *Vie d'al-Ḥadjdjādj ibn Yousof*, Paris 1904; Lammens, *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades*, index; Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*², III, 103 sq., 106, 124, 260-2; Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, I, 99 sq., 139 sq.; A. Dietrich, *Al-Ḥaccāc b. Yūsuf'un terceme-i ḥâline dair bir kaç mülâhaza*, dans *İslâm Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi*, II/1, Istanbul 1957, 147-55. (A. DIETRICH)

AL-ḤADJDJĀDJ B. YŪSUF B. MAṬAR AL-ḤĀSIB, traducteur qui vécut à Baghdād à la fin du II^e^/VIII^e^ s. et au début du III^e^/IX^e^ siècle. Ses traductions comprennent les *Éléments* d'Euclide (revus par Thābit b. Kurra et commentés par al-Nayrīzī [*q.vv.*]), et une version, tirée d'un texte syriaque, de l'*Astronomie* de Ptolémée. Cette dernière, appelée *K. al-Madjisṭī*, a été terminée en 212/827-8.

Bibliographie: Brockelmann, I, 203, S I 363; A. Mieli, *La science arabe*, Leyde 1938, 85. (RÉD.)

ḤĀDJDJĪ BAYRĀM WALĪ (753?-833/1352-1430), saint patron d'Ankara et fondateur de l'ordre religieux des Bayrāmiyya [*q.v.*], né dans le village de Solfasol, à 7 km. au Nord-est d'Ankara. Il était le fils d'un certain Koyunludja Aḥmad; lui-même s'appelait Nuʿmān. Après avoir fait ses études à Ankara et à Brousse, il enseigna à la Ḳara Medrese d'Ankara, mais abandonna la carrière de théologien lorsqu'il fut invité par Shaykh Ḥāmid (sur celui-ci, voir *Shaḳāʾiḳ*, tr. Meǧdī, 74 sq., tr. Rescher, 29 sq.) à le rejoindre à Kayseri (ils se seraient rencontrés sur le Ḳurban bayrāmi, d'où le surnom de Bayrām qu'on lui donna); c'est en qualité de *mürid* qu'il l'accompagna en Syrie et, de là, au pèlerinage, puis qu'il le raccompagna à Akseray. Après la mort de son maître (en 805/1402 selon Mustaḳīmzāde, voir A. Gölpınarlı, *Manāḳıb-ı Ḥacı Bektāş* . . . , Istanbul 1958, 120), il retourna à Ankara, où il réunit de nombreux fidèles : on compte parmi ses disciples Ak Shams al-dīn [*q.v.*] et Dede ʿUmar Sikkīnī (chefs des deux branches en lesquelles après sa mort, son ordre se scinda), le poète Shaykhī [*q.v.*], les deux frères Yazidjī-oghlu Muḥammad et Aḥmad Bidjān [*q.v.*] et Ashraf-oghlu Rūmī, auteur du *Muzakkī l-nufūs*, qui devint son gendre. En dépit des tendances extrémistes de certains de ses disciples, son propre enseignement ne dépassa pas les limites permises par l'orthodoxie; il semble avoir mené une existence modeste, gagnant sa vie par un travail manuel, pratiquant la charité et l'encourageant. Ses activités auraient provoqué les soupçons de Murād II, soupçons qui se dissipèrent néanmoins lorsqu'on l'eut amené à Edirne devant le sultan; Ewliyā (II, 437, III, 430 sq.) rapporte une tradition selon laquelle il aurait prêché dans l'Eski Djāmiʿ de cette ville. Il fut inhumé dans un *türbe* auprès de la mosquée contiguë au temple d'Auguste qu'il avait fondée. On attribue à Ḥādjdjī Bayrām cinq poèmes (texte complet donné par Okhan, voir *Bibl.*), dans le style des *ilāhīs* de Yūnus Emre, qui firent l'objet de nombreux commentaires de ses disciples.

On attribue couramment la fondation de la mosquée à Miʿmār Sinān (en se basant probablement sur Ewliyā, II, 430), ce qui est injustifié (voir la brève description de F. Taeschner, dans *ZDMG*, LXXXII (1928), 108); les seules inscriptions qui s'y trouvent (trad. all. par P. Wittek, dans M. Schede et H. St. Schultz, *Ankara und Augustus*, Berlin 1937, 45-6 et cf. 36-41) font état de réparations en 1126/1714 (l'inscription publiée par Mübārek Ghālib, *Ankara*, II (1928), 41, n° 82, n'a aucun rapport avec la mosquée). A l'Ankara Etnoğrafya Müzesi, sont conservés des vêtements qui auraient été portés par Ḥādjdjī Bayrām ainsi que les portes en bois (phot. dans *Yıllık Araştırmalar Dergisi* [Ank. Ün. Ilahiyat Fak.], I, 1956, 231) et les volets du *türbe* (restaurés en 1947).

Bibliographie : Il n'a pas été publié de biographie critique de Ḥādjdjī Bayrām. Les sources accessibles sont énumérées par M. F. Köprülü, dans *Ilk Mutaṣawwifler*, Istanbul 1918, 377, n. 2; certaines ont été utilisées pour les monographies de Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir (*Ḥādjdjī Bayrām Welī*, Istanbul 1329, réimpression 1331), Meḥmed ʿAlī ʿAynī (même titre, Istanbul 1343) et Meḥmet Ali Okhan (*Hacı Bayrâmı Velî*, Ankara 1950). Voir en outre : Ṭāshköprüzāde, *Shaḳāʾiḳ*, tr. Meǧdī, 77, tr. Rescher, 31; B. M. Ṭāhir, *ʿOM*, I, 56-7; Abdulbaki [Gölpınarlı], *Melâmîlik ve Melâmîler*, Istanbul 1931, 33-9; D. Krencker et M. Schede, *Der Tempel in Ankara*, Berlin-Leipzig 1936, 60-1 (P. Wittek); sur le contexte politique et social du mouvement religieux de Ḥādjdjī Bayrām, voir P. Wittek, *De la défaite d'Ankara* . . . , dans *REI*, XII (1938), 1-34. (V. L. MÉNAGE)

ḤĀDJDJĪ BEG. [Voir RIḌWĀN BEGOVIĆ].

ḤĀDJDJĪ BEKTĀSH WALĪ. [Voir BEKTĀSHIYYA].

ḤĀDJDJĪ GIRĀY (m. 871/1466), fondateur de la dynastie Girāy de *khāns* de Crimée. Sur ses monnaies, il s'appelle lui-même «al-sulṭān Ḥadjdjī Kerey b. Ghiyāth al-dīn Khān» (voir O. Retovski, *Die Münzen der Girei*, Moscou 1905, n^os^ 1-4); selon Abū l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān (*Shadjara-i Turk*, éd. Riḍā Nūr, Istanbul 1925, 184), son père et son grand-père étaient respectivement Ghiyāth al-dīn et Tashtimūr (cf. M. Riḍā, *al-Sabuʿ al-sayyār*, 69-71). Son identification avec Dewlet-berdi (V. D. Smirnov, *Krimskoe khanstvo*. . ., St. Pétersbourg 1887, 221-34) paraît incorrecte. Dewlet-berdi (sur une de ses monnaies, voir Lane-Poole, *Cat.*, VI, n° 568) apparaît dans une source (*ʿUmdat al-tawārīkh*, 95) comme le frère de Ghiyāth al-dīn; il régnait encore en qualité de *khān* à Solghat (Eski-Kīrīm) en dhū l-ḳaʿda 832/août 1429 (N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits* . . ., I, 25; voir aussi Spuler, *Horde*, 157). D'après des sources polonaises (Spuler, *loc. cit.*), Ḥādjdjī Girāy naquit près de Troki, en Lithuanie, et fut assisté au khānat par Vitovt (Witold, m. 1430); on sait que les Grands Ducs de Lithuanie donnèrent asile à Toḳtamīsh et aux ancêtres de Ḥādjdjī Girāy et les protégea contre les *khāns* demeurant à Sarāy et soutenus par le puissant *amīr* Edigü (M. Khrushevskiy, *Istoriya Ukrainoy-Rossii*, IV, Lwow 1907), et cette même politique devait aider Ḥādjdjī Girāy à occuper la Crimée et à s'y maintenir. Un des principaux facteurs qui facilitèrent la naissance d'un khānat indépendant en Crimée sous Ḥādjdjī Girāy fut, d'après les sources indigènes (*al-Sabuʿ al-sayyār*, 69-71; *ʿUmdat al-tawārīkh*, 94-6), le mouvement vers l'Ouest, par les côtes septentrionales de la mer Noire en direction de

Figure 2. A page from the *Encyclopédie d'Islam*, deuxième édition.

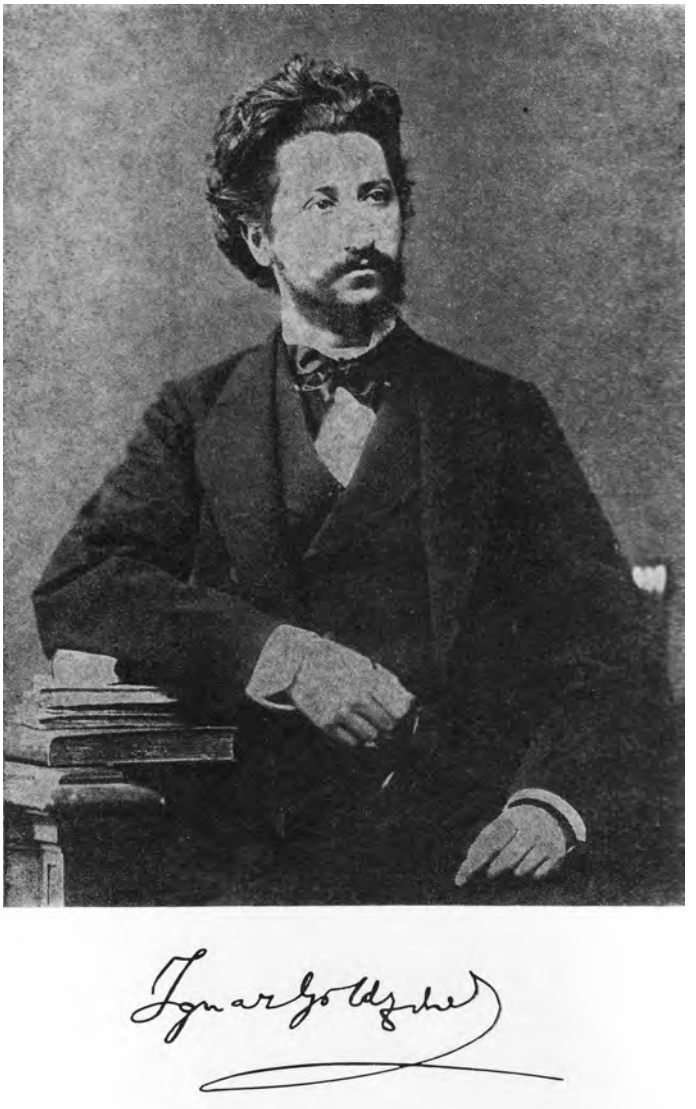


Figure 3. Ignaz Goldziher, taken from Róbert Simon, *Ignác Goldziher: His Life and Scholarship as Reflected in His Works and Correspondence* (Leiden, 1986), frontispiece.

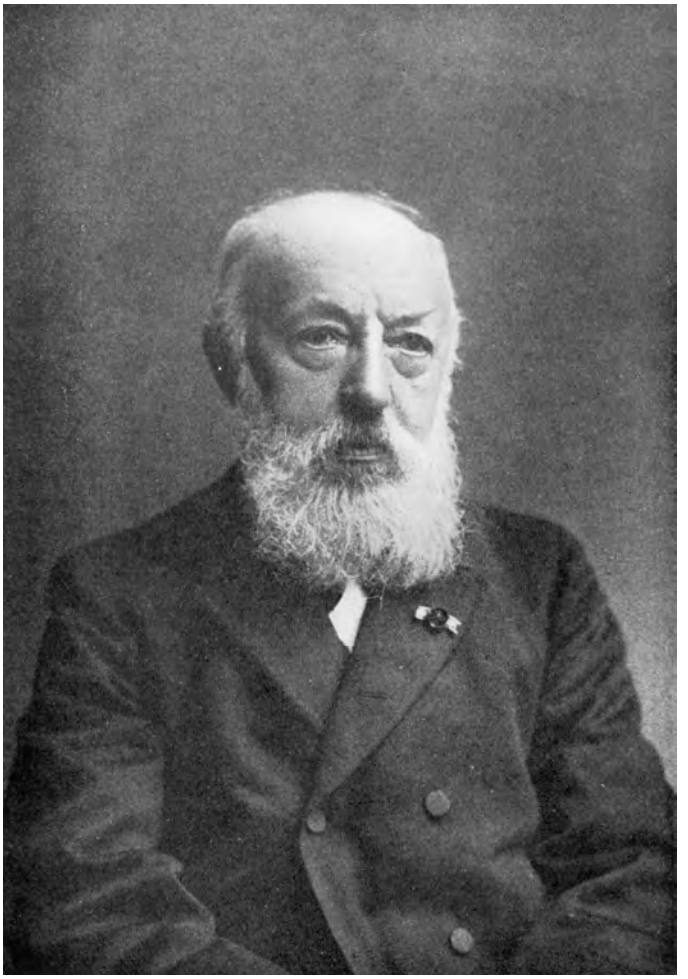


Figure 4. M. J. de Goeje, taken from *Catalogue de fonds de la librairie orientale E. J. Brill, maison fondée en 1683: 1683–1937* (Leiden, 1937), facing p. 60.

Figure 5. M. Th. Houtsma, taken from *Catalogue de fonds de la librairie orientale E. J. Brill, maison fondée en 1683: 1683–1937* (Leiden, 1937), facing p. 66.

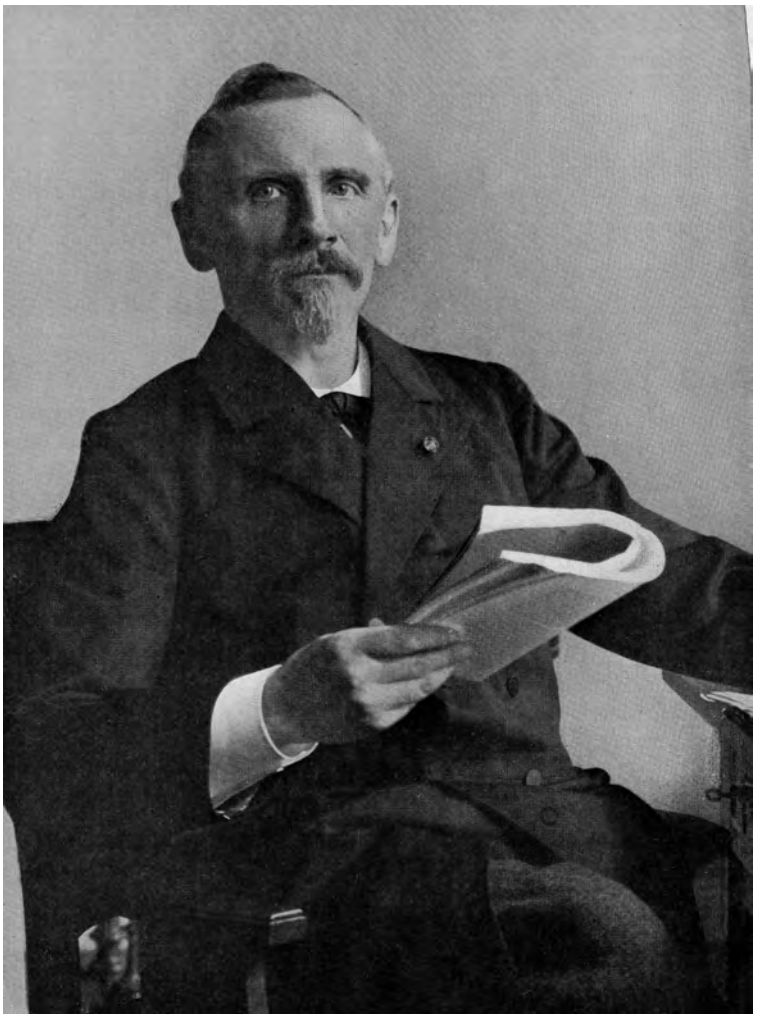


Figure 6. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, taken from *Oostersch Instituut Jaarverslagen 1934–1940 (IV)* (Leiden, 1941), 1.

Figure 7. Arent Jan Wensinck, taken from *Oostersch Instituut Jaarverslagen 1934–1940 (IV)* (Leiden, 1941), after p. 22.

Figure 8. Meeting in Leiden of academicians in advance of the start of the second edition, April 1949. Seated from left to right, Johannes Pedersen, É. Lévi-Provençal, H. A. R. Gibb, Henri Massé, B. A. van Groningen; standing from left to right, E. García Gómez, H. S. Nyberg, G. Levi Della Vida, J. H. Kramers. Harvard University Archives, H. A. R. Gibb Papers.

Figure 9. C. Snouck Hurgronje's house in Leiden, Rapenburg 61, where the first meeting in 1947 was held to discuss the desire for a second edition. Taken from *Oostersch Instituut Jaarverslagen 1934–1940 (IV)* (Leiden, 1941), frontispiece.

Figure 10. The editorial board, posing in the room that used to be Snouck Hurgronje's bedroom, 1954. Seated, from left to right, J. Schacht, É. Lévi-Provençal, and H. A. R. Gibb, with behind them, Ch. Pellat and S. M. Stern.

Figure 11. The editorial board, 1957, "at an empty table making light conversation." From left to right, R. M. Savory, B. Lewis, J. Schacht, Ch. Pellat, C. Dumont.

Figure 12. E. J. Brill's publishing house, Oude Rijn 33a, from 1883 to 1985. Photo: Ferdi de Gier. With permission, Werkgroep Geveltekens van de Historische Vereniging Oud Leiden (www.erfgoedleiden.nl).

FIgure 13. Le Château de Morigny, the conference estate belonging to the Sorbonne, where the editorial board met from 1988 to 1994.

Figure 14. The editorial board at lunch in Katwijk, Netherlands, July 17, 1993; from left to right, Pruijt, Bearman, Van Donzel, Mme Nurit, Lecomte, Venekamp (Brill editorial director, obscured), and Bosworth.

Figure 15. An editorial board meeting in Brill's conference room, Leiden, July 16–17, 1993; from left to right, Mme. Nurit, Lecomte, Bearman, Heinrichs, Bosworth, Van Donzel.

Figure 16. An editorial board meeting in the Gibb Room, Harvard University Library, November 8–9, 1993; from left to right, Van Donzel, Lecomte, Mme Nurit, Bearman, Bosworth, Heinrichs.

Figure 17. Aboard a cruise through Leiden, offered by Brill to celebrate the completion of the English second edition, May 2005; from left to right, Heinrichs, Bearman, Bianquis, Van Donzel, Bosworth.

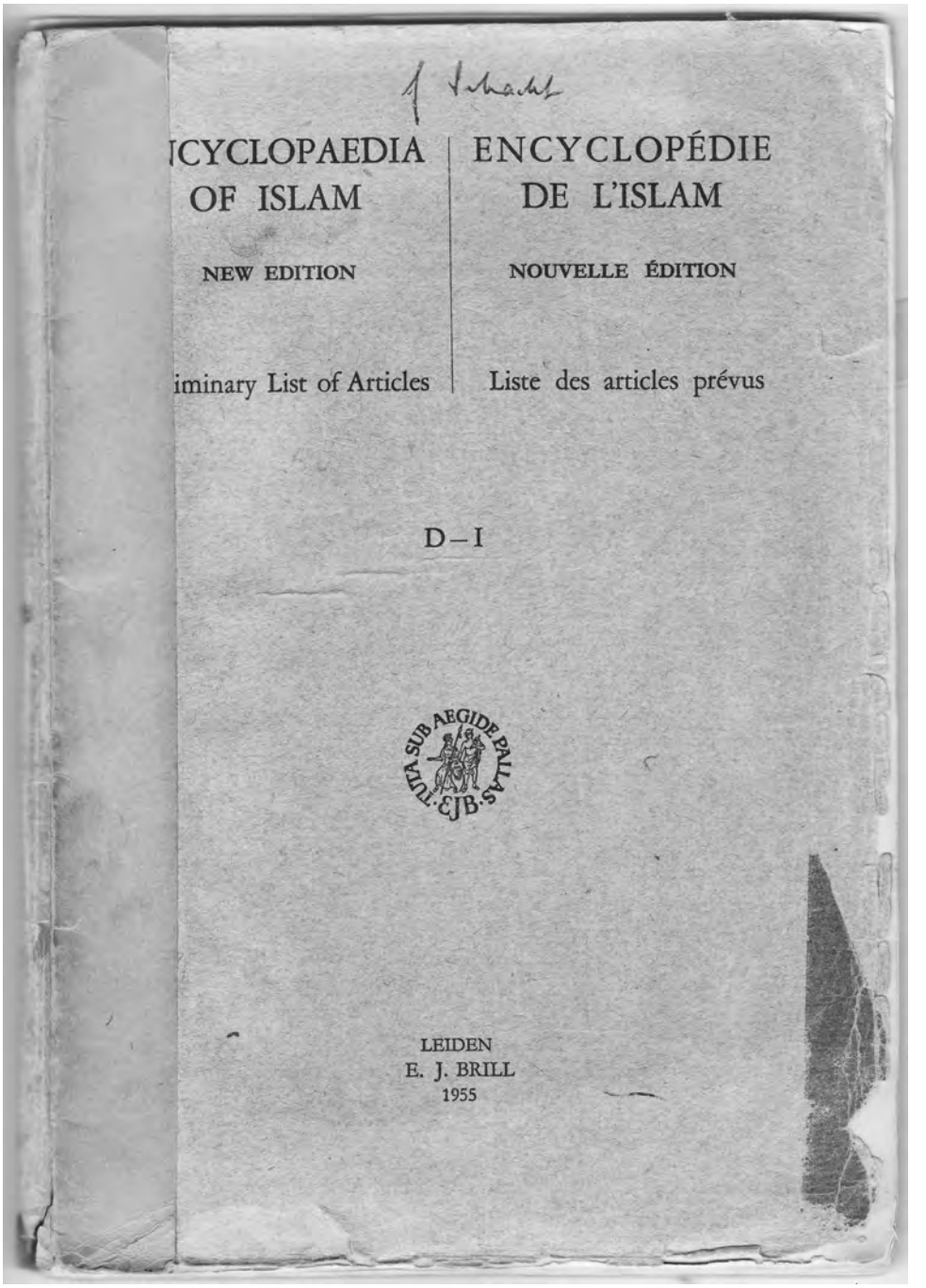


Figure 18. Cover from Schacht's Grey Book, D–I.

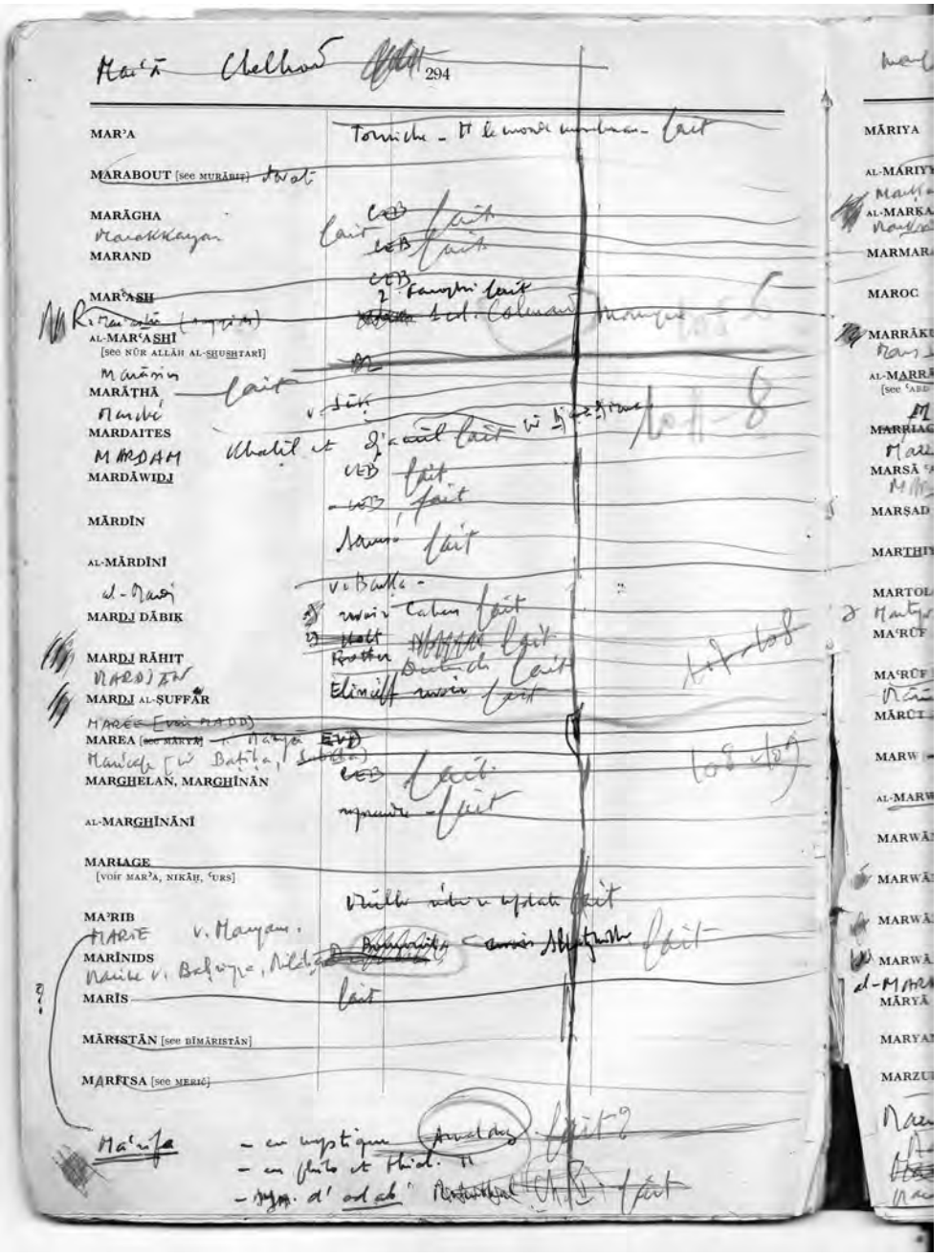
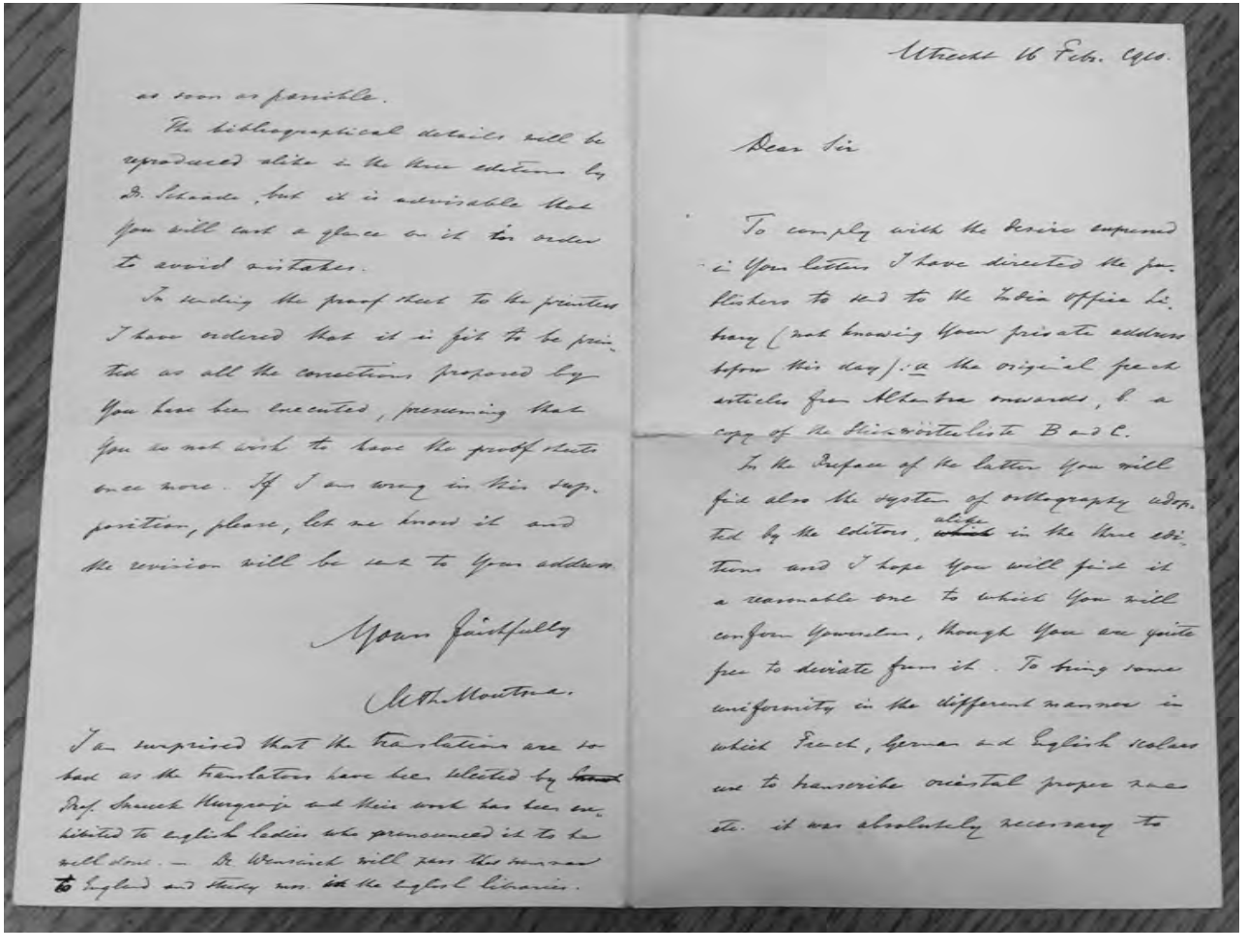


Figure 19. A page from Pellat's Grey Book, J–M.



as soon as possible.

The bibliographical details will be reproduced alike in the three editions by D. Schaade, but it is advisable that you will cast a glance on it in order to avoid mistakes.

In sending the proof sheet to the printers I have ordered that it is fit to be printed as all the corrections proposed by you have been executed, presuming that you do not wish to have the proof sheets once more. If I am wrong in this supposition, please, let me know it and the revision will be sent to Your address.

Yours faithfully

M. Th. Houtsma.

I am surprised that the translations are so bad as the translators have been assisted by ~~them~~ Prof. Snouck Hurgronje and their work has been exhibited to english ladies who pronounced it to be well done. — Dr Wensinck will pass this summer ~~to~~ England and study mss. ~~in~~ the English libraries.

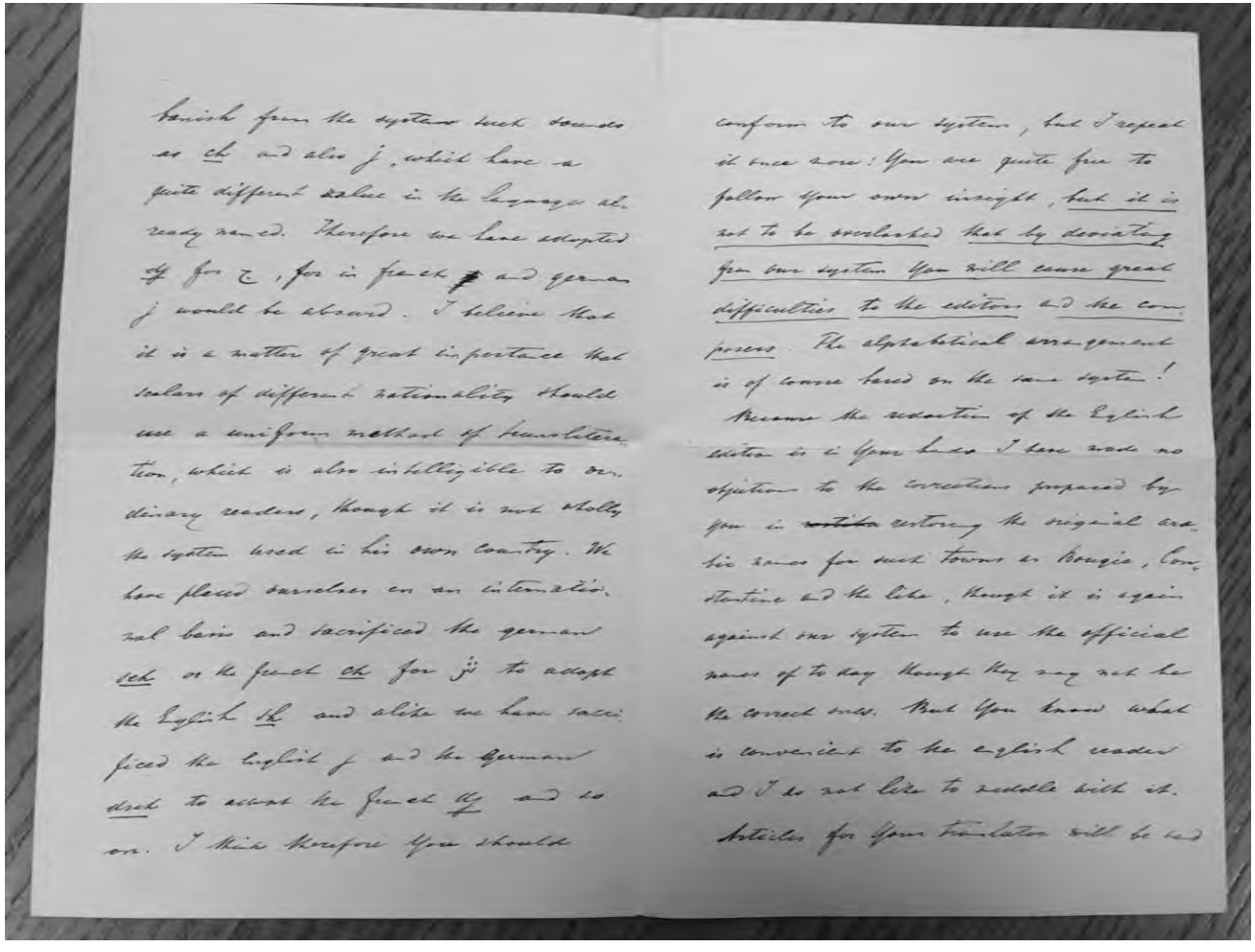
Utrecht 16 Febr. 1910.

Dear Sir

To comply with the desire expressed in Your letter I have directed the publishers to send to the India Office Library (not knowing Your private address before this day) a the original proof sheets from Aleppo onwards, & a copy of the Stereotypeplate B and C.

In the Preface of the latter You will find also the system of orthography adopted by the editors, ~~which~~ alike in the three editions and I hope You will find it a reasonable one to which You will conform Yourselves, though You are quite free to deviate from it. To bring some uniformity in the different manner in which French, German and English scholars use to transcribe oriental proper names etc. it was absolutely necessary to

Figure 20. Letter M. Th. Houtsma to T. W. Arnold, February 16, 1910. Harvard University Archives, H. A. R. Gibb Papers.

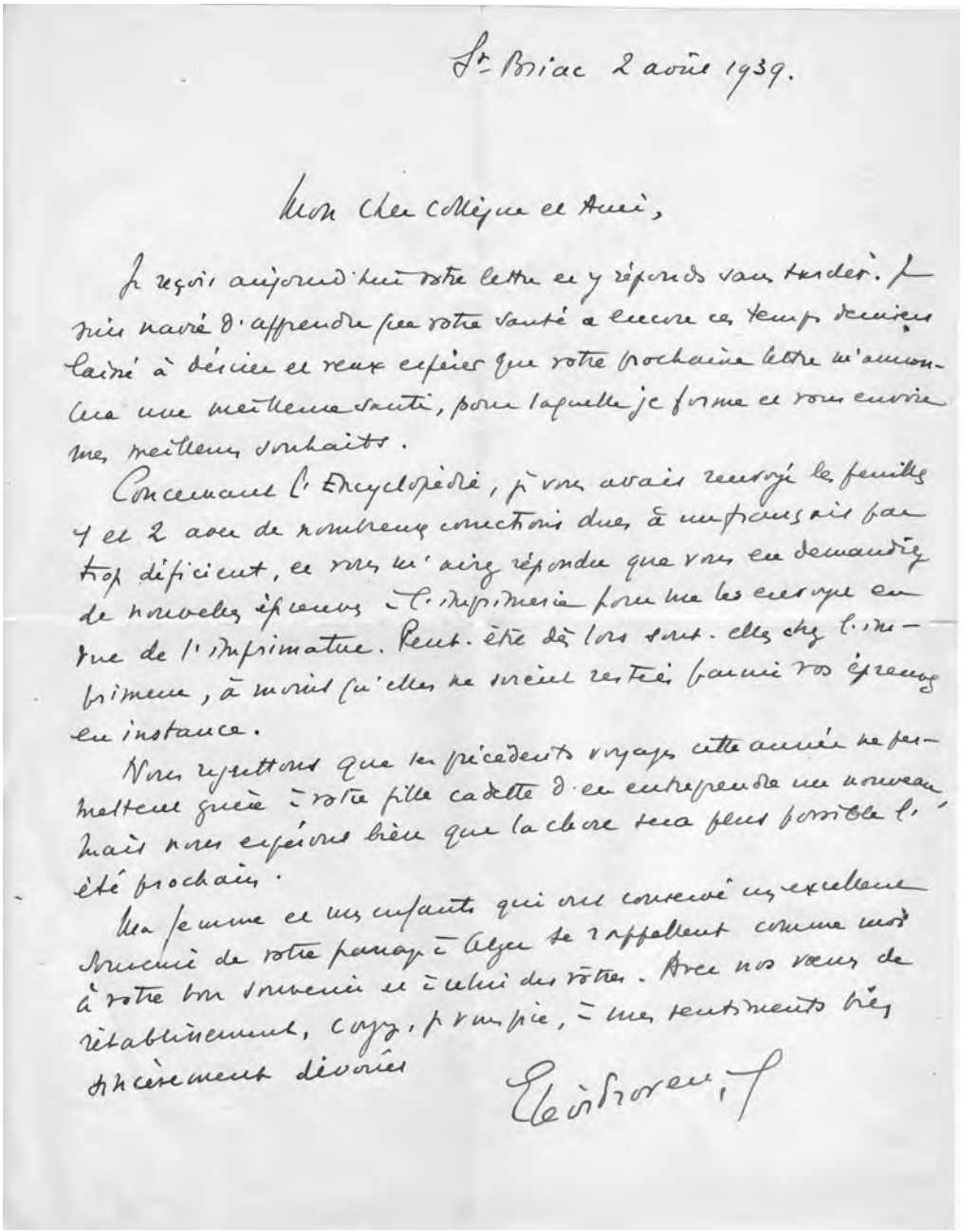


banish from the system such sounds as ch and also j, which have a quite different value in the languages already named. Therefore we have adopted sch for ç, for in French ç and German j would be absurd. I believe that it is a matter of great importance that scholars of different nationality should use a uniform method of transliteration, which is also intelligible to ordinary readers, though it is not wholly the system used in his own country. We have placed ourselves on an international basis and sacrificed the german sch or the french ch for ç to adopt the English sh and also we have sacrificed the English j and the German dsch to adopt the French dj and so on. I think therefore You should conform to our system, but I repeat it once more: You are quite free to follow your own insight, but it is not to be overlooked that by deviating from our system You will cause great difficulties to the editors and the compositors. The alphabetical arrangement is of course based on the same system!

Because the adoption of the English letter is in Your hands I have made no objection to the corrections prepared by you in ~~written~~ entering the original and the names for such towns as Bougie, Constantine and the like, though it is again against our system to use the official names of to day though they may not be the correct ones. But You know what is convenient to the english reader and I do not like to meddle with it.

Articles for Your translation will be sent

Figure 20, continued



St-Briac 2 août 1939.

Mon cher Collègue et Ami,

J'ai reçu aujourd'hui votre lettre et y réponds sans tarder. J'ai navré d'apprendre par votre santé a encore ce temps derniers laissé à désirer et veux espérer que votre prochaine lettre m'annoncera une meilleure santé, pour laquelle je forme et vous envoie mes meilleurs souhaits.

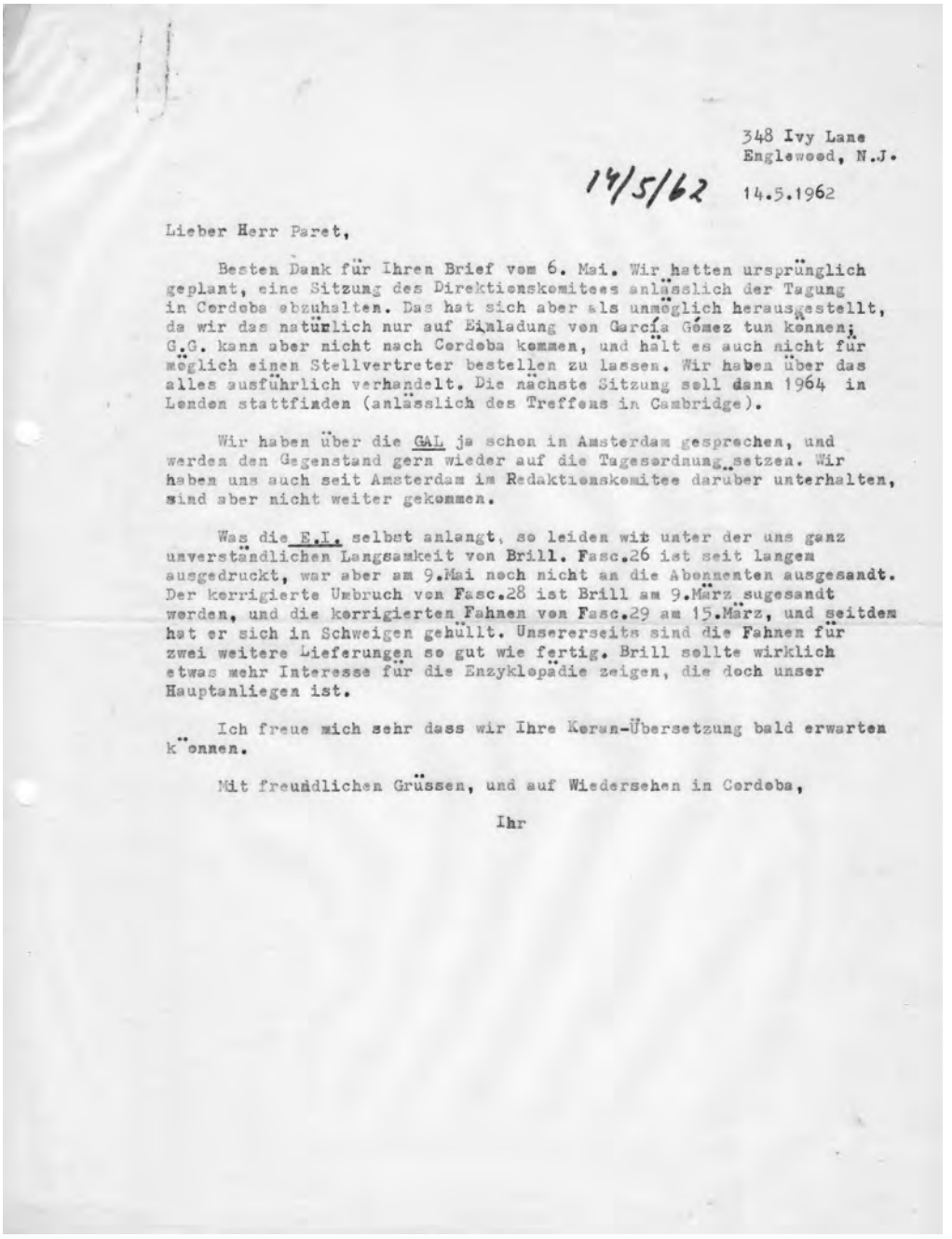
Concernant l'Encyclopédie, j'ai vu avais renvoyé les feuilles 4 et 2 avec de nombreuses corrections dues à un premier bon trop déficient, et vous m'aviez répondu que vous en demandiez de nouvelles épreuves à l'imprimerie pour me les envoyer en vue de l'imprimatur. Peut-être dès lors sont-elles chez l'imprimeur, à moins qu'elles ne soient restées parmi vos épreuves en instance.

Nous regrettons que les précédents voyages cette année ne permettent guère à votre fille cadette d'en entreprendre un nouveau mais nous espérons bien que la chose sera plus possible l'été prochain.

Ma femme et mes enfants qui ont conservé un excellent souvenir de votre passage à Alger se rappellent comme moi à votre bon souvenir et à celui des vôtres. Avec nos vœux de rétablissement, croyez, je vous prie, à mes sentiments très sincèrement dévoués

E. Lévi-Provençal

Figure 21. Letter É. Lévi-Provençal to J. H. Kramers, August 2, 1939.



348 Ivy Lane
Engleweed, N.J.

14/5/62 14.5.1962

Lieber Herr Paret,

Besten Dank für Ihren Brief vom 6. Mai. Wir hatten ursprünglich geplant, eine Sitzung des Direktionskomitees anlässlich der Tagung in Cordoba abzuhalten. Das hat sich aber als unmöglich herausgestellt, da wir das natürlich nur auf Einladung von García Gómez tun können; G.G. kann aber nicht nach Cordoba kommen, und hält es auch nicht für möglich einen Stellvertreter bestellen zu lassen. Wir haben über das alles ausführlich verhandelt. Die nächste Sitzung soll dann 1964 in Leiden stattfinden (anlässlich des Treffens in Cambridge).

Wir haben über die GAL ja schon in Amsterdam gesprochen, und werden den Gegenstand gern wieder auf die Tagesordnung setzen. Wir haben uns auch seit Amsterdam im Redaktionskomitee darüber unterhalten, sind aber nicht weiter gekommen.

Was die E.I. selbst anlangt, so leiden wir unter der uns ganz unverständlichen Langsamkeit von Brill. Fasc.26 ist seit langem ausgedruckt, war aber am 9.Mai noch nicht an die Abonnenten ausgesandt. Der korrigierte Umbruch von Fasc.28 ist Brill am 9.März zugesandt worden, und die korrigierten Fahnen von Fasc.29 am 15.März, und seitdem hat er sich in Schweigen gehüllt. Unsererseits sind die Fahnen für zwei weitere Lieferungen so gut wie fertig. Brill sollte wirklich etwas mehr Interesse für die Enzyklopädie zeigen, die doch unser Hauptanliegen ist.

Ich freue mich sehr dass wir Ihre Koran-Übersetzung bald erwarten können.

Mit freundlichen Grüssen, und auf Wiedersehen in Cordoba,

Ihr

Figure 22. Letter Joseph Schacht to Rudi Paret, May 14, 1962.

Ombo. 9-6-48 = Bennekom

27 Belsyze Court,
Oxford, 6 June 1948.

My dear Kramers,

It was only some weeks ago that I had any definite news of your health, and I am very glad to learn from yourself that you have so far recovered and are likely to be able to resume your full activities in the autumn. It is still to me a matter of regret[ful] + self-accusing astonishment that I have not seen you nor visited Leiden since the war, and I had hoped very keenly that we should be able to meet at length in Paris. But now that even that hope is removed, I must certainly seek an early opportunity to cross over to Holland.

But your presence in Paris will certainly be missed, however glad we shall be to have the assistance of Professor Berg in the discussions that are sure to arise about the Encyclopaedia. What you tell me about the views of the Dutch Academy and the attitude of Brill is very helpful. Since your letter reached me, I have taken opportunities to discuss some points with certain of your colleagues. There is a quite definite wish on our part to see a new edition of the main Encyclopedia started, especially for the earlier letters of the alphabet. The

2.

proposal to plan a single-volume Encyclopaedia of the Near East, as a joint Anglo-American production. If this eventually comes to be realized, it may, in its turn, prove as a first step towards a combination of the two Encyclopaedias into a comprehensive general encyclopaedia - including also the materials now limited to Encyclopaedia Biblica + such other specialist collections.

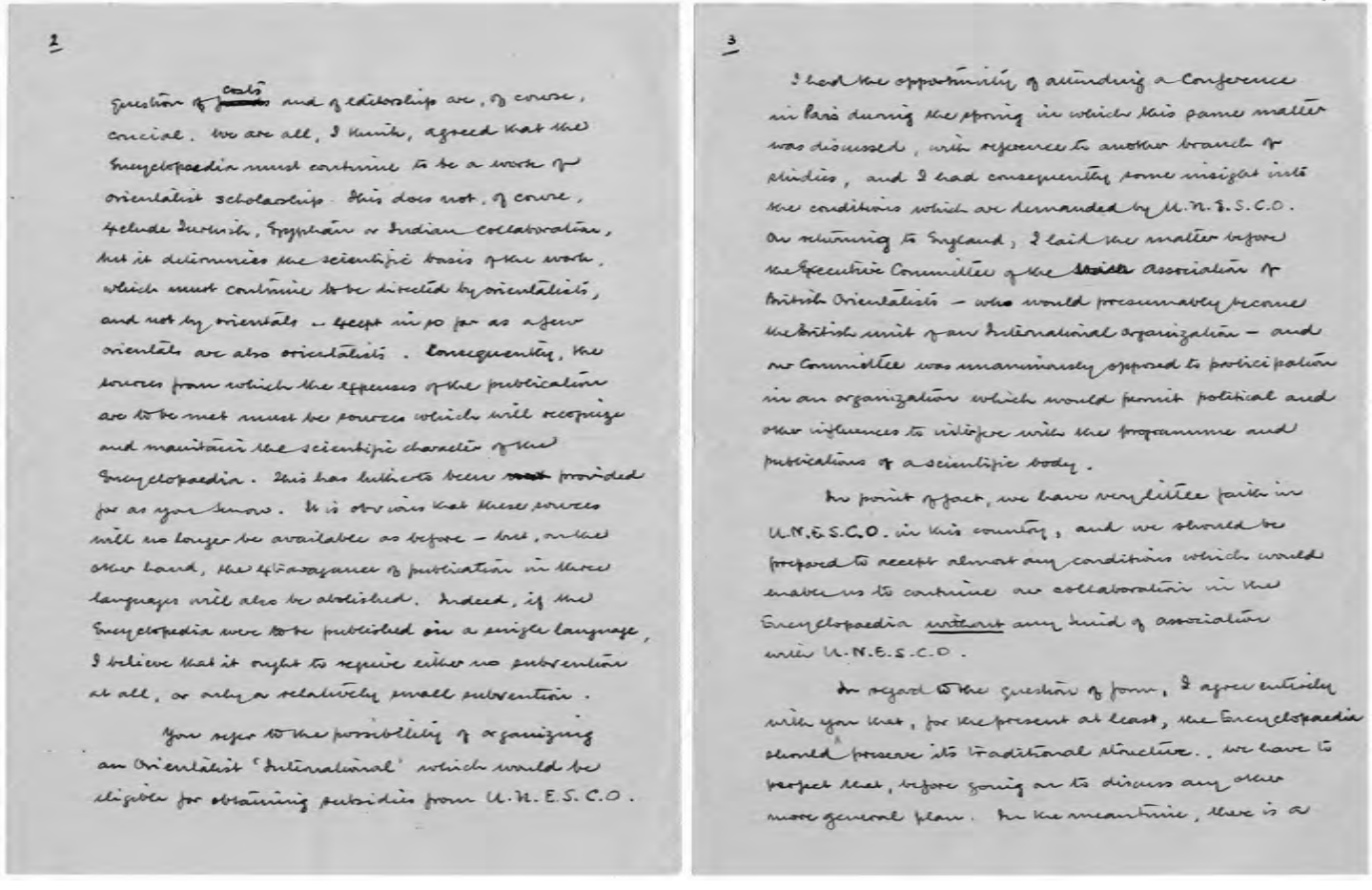
Finally, with regard to the abridged Encyclopaedia. I have also consulted my friends on this side, but I have no very precise idea, since I have no copy of the German edition + have only seen the covers of it. The response, however, was very favourable, and I should certainly be ready to collaborate with you in completing and bringing out the English edition. Indeed, I should go further, for it would give me very great pleasure to be working once again in association with you.

With my warm regards to yourself + kind remembrances to your family

Yours very sincerely

H A R Gibb

Figure 23. Letter H. A. R. Gibb to J. H. Kramers, June 6, 1948.



2

question of ~~[illegible]~~ cals and of editorship are, of course, crucial. We are all, I think, agreed that the Encyclopaedia must continue to be a work of orientalist scholarship. This does not, of course, exclude Turkish, Egyptian or Indian collaboration, but it determines the scientific basis of the work, which must continue to be directed by orientalists, and not by orientals - except in so far as these orientals are also orientalists. Consequently, the sources from which the expenses of the publication are to be met must be sources which will recognize and maintain the scientific character of the Encyclopaedia. This has hitherto been ~~not~~ provided for as you know. It is obvious that these sources will no longer be available as before - but, on the other hand, the disappearance of publication in those languages will also be abolished. Indeed, if the Encyclopedia were to be published in a single language, I believe that it ought to require either no subvention at all, or only a relatively small subvention.

You refer to the possibility of organizing an Orientalist 'International' which would be eligible for obtaining subsidies from U.N.E.S.C.O.

3

I had the opportunity of attending a Conference in Paris during the spring in which this same matter was discussed, with reference to another branch of studies, and I had consequently some insight into the conditions which are demanded by U.N.E.S.C.O. On returning to England, I laid the matter before the Executive Committee of the ~~[illegible]~~ Association of British Orientalists - who would presumably become the British unit of an International organization - and the Committee was unanimously opposed to politicization in an organization which would permit political and other influences to interfere with the programme and publications of a scientific body.

As point of fact, we have very little faith in U.N.E.S.C.O. in this country, and we should be prepared to accept almost any conditions which would enable us to continue our collaboration in the Encyclopaedia without any kind of association with U.N.E.S.C.O.

As regard to the question of form, I agree entirely with you that, for the present at least, the Encyclopaedia should preserve its traditional structure. We have to accept that, before going on to discuss any other more general plan. In the meantime, there is a

Figure 23, continued

UNIVERSITÉ DE PARIS

INSTITUT D'ÉTUDES ISLAMIQUES

PARIS (6e), le 11 janvier 1956

13, Rue du Four
(5e ÉTAGE)

Ch. Pellat

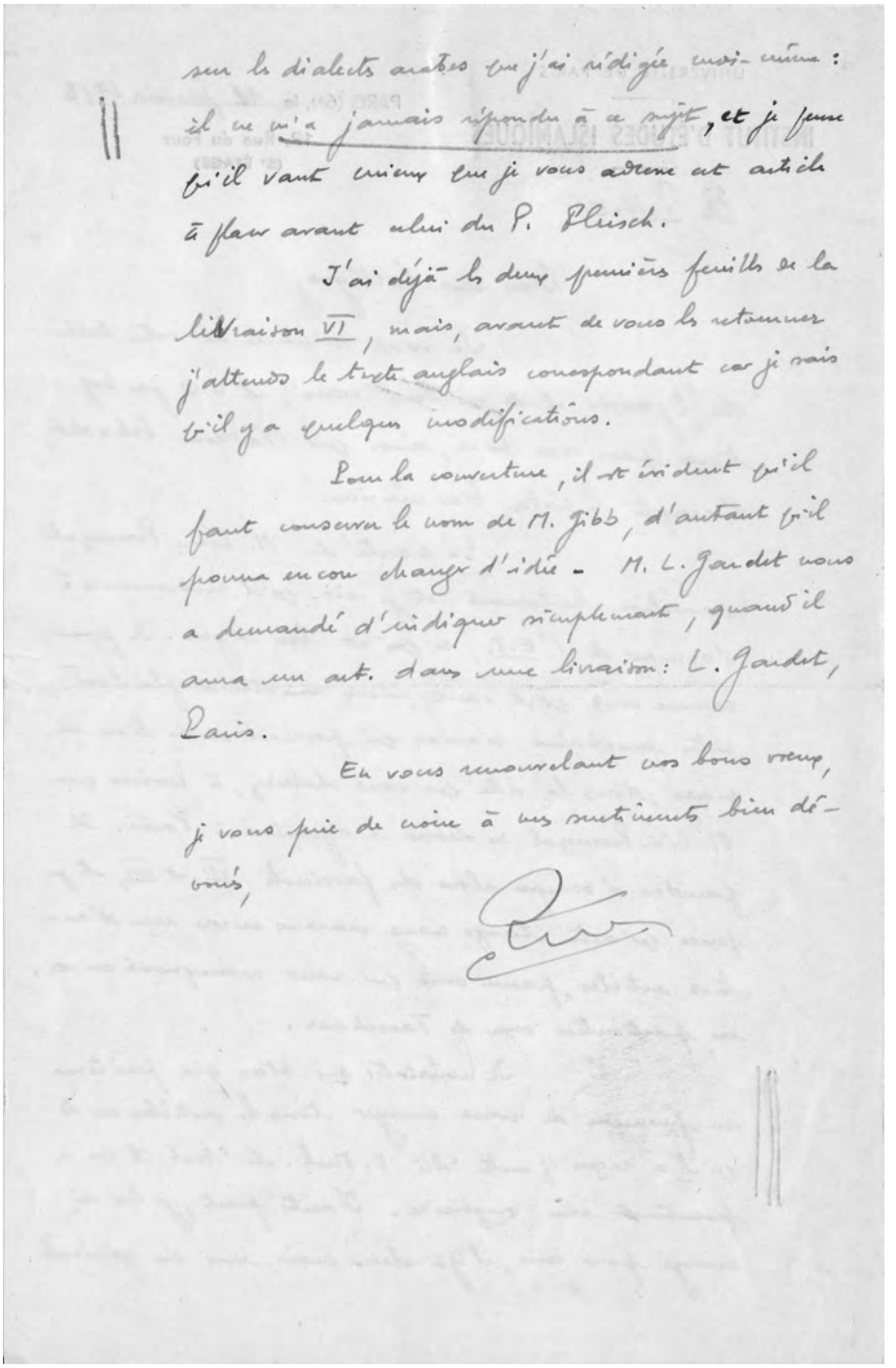
Bien cher Collègue,

Je vous remercie de votre lettre du 2 janvier et de vos bons vœux ; il n'est pas trop tard pour vous prier, ainsi que Madame Schacht, d'accepter les nôtres, bien sincères.

La santé de M. Lévi-Provençal s'améliore lentement et je vois qu'il recommence à s'occuper de l'E.I., ce qui est bon signe. Je pense comme vous qu'il vaut mieux remettre à plus tard notre prochaine réunion qui pourrait avoir lieu en mars, dans la ville que vous choisirez, à moins que M. Lévi-Provençal ne désire l'organiser à Paris. Il faudra s'occuper alors des fascicules VII et VIII, et je pense qu'entre temps nous aurons encore reçu d'autres articles parmi ceux qui vous manquent encore, en particulier ceux de Taeschner.

Je constate que Stern n'a pas tenu sa promesse de vous envoyer tous les articles en A qu'il a reçus ; outre ʿAlī b. Muḥ. et ʿArab, il en a pourtant une vingtaine. D'autre part, je lui ai envoyé pour avis, il y a deux mois, une vie générale

Figure 24. Letter Charles Pellat to Joseph Schacht, January 11, 1956.



sur les dialectes arabes que j'ai rédigée moi-même : il ne m'a jamais répondu à ce sujet, et je pense qu'il vaut mieux que je vous adresse cet article à peu avant celui du P. Fleisch.

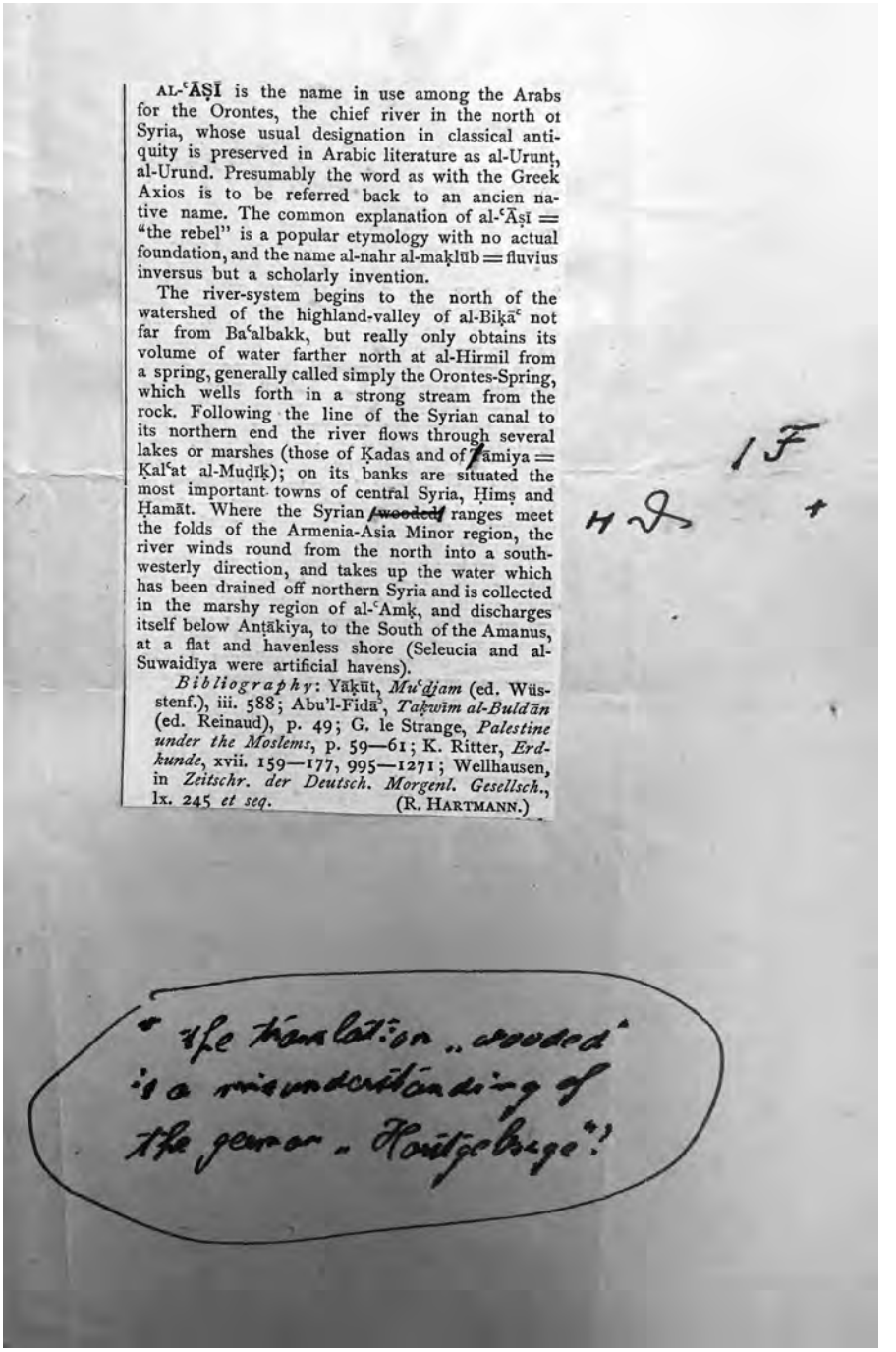
J'ai déjà les deux premières feuilles de la livraison VI, mais, avant de vous les retourner j'attends le texte anglais correspondant car je sais qu'il y a quelques modifications.

Pour la couverture, il est évident qu'il faut conserver le nom de M. Gibb, d'autant qu'il pourra encore changer d'idée - M. L. Gardet vous a demandé d'rédiger simplement, quand il aura un art. dans une livraison: L. Gardet, Paris.

En vous renouvelant nos bons vœux, je vous prie de croire à mes sentiments bien dévoués,

Figure 24, continued

A



AL-ʿĀṢĪ is the name in use among the Arabs for the Orontes, the chief river in the north of Syria, whose usual designation in classical antiquity is preserved in Arabic literature as al-Urunṭ, al-Urund. Presumably the word as with the Greek Axios is to be referred back to an ancien native name. The common explanation of al-ʿĀṣī = "the rebel" is a popular etymology with no actual foundation, and the name al-nahr al-maḳlūb = fluvius inversus but a scholarly invention.

The river-system begins to the north of the watershed of the highland-valley of al-Biḳāʿ not far from Baʿalbakk, but really only obtains its volume of water farther north at al-Hirmil from a spring, generally called simply the Orontes-Spring, which wells forth in a strong stream from the rock. Following the line of the Syrian canal to its northern end the river flows through several lakes or marshes (those of Ḳadas and of Ḥāmiya = Ḳalʿat al-Muḍīḳ); on its banks are situated the most important towns of central Syria, Ḥimṣ and Ḥamāt. Where the Syrian ~~[wooded]~~ ranges meet the folds of the Armenia-Asia Minor region, the river winds round from the north into a south-westerly direction, and takes up the water which has been drained off northern Syria and is collected in the marshy region of al-ʿAmḳ, and discharges itself below Anṭākiya, to the South of the Amanus, at a flat and havenless shore (Seleucia and al-Suwaidīya were artificial havens).

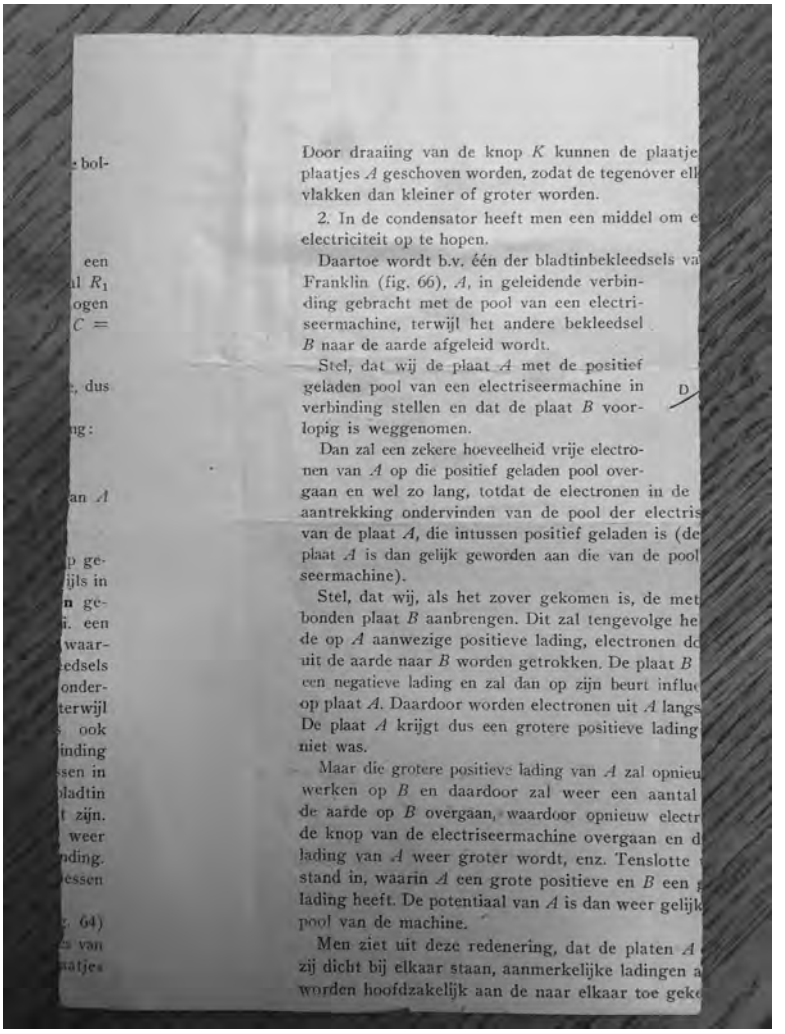
Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam* (ed. Wüstenf.), iii. 588; Abu'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm al-Buldān* (ed. Reinaud), p. 49; G. le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 59—61; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvii. 159—177, 995—1271; Wellhausen, in *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, lx. 245 *et seq.* (R. HARTMANN.)

1F

"The translation "crooded" is a misunderstanding of the german "Hügelkette"?

Figure 25. A galley proof (A), with edits by H. A. R. Gibb, pasted on the back of a piece of scrap paper (B). Harvard University Archives, H. A. R. Gibb Papers.

B



Door draaiing van de knop K kunnen de plaatje
plaatjes A geschoven worden, zodat de tegenover ell
vlakken dan kleiner of groter worden.

2. In de condensator heeft men een middel om e
electriciteit op te hopen.

Daartoe wordt b.v. één der bladtinbekleedsels va
Franklin (fig. 66), A, in geleidende verbin-
ding gebracht met de pool van een electri-
seermachine, terwijl het andere bekleedsel
B naar de aarde afgeleid wordt.

Stel, dat wij de plaat A met de positief
geladen pool van een electriseermachine in
verbinding stellen en dat de plaat B voor-
lopig is weggenomen.

Dan zal een zekere hoeveelheid vrije electro-
nen van A op die positief geladen pool over-
gaan en wel zo lang, totdat de electronen in de
aantrekking ondervinden van de pool der electris
van de plaat A, die intussen positief geladen is (de
plaat A is dan gelijk geworden aan die van de pool
seermachine).

Stel, dat wij, als het zover gekomen is, de met
bonden plaat B aanbrengen. Dit zal tengevolge he
de op A aanwezige positieve lading, electronen dc
uit de aarde naar B worden getrokken. De plaat B
een negatieve lading en zal dan op zijn beurt influe
op plaat A. Daardoor worden electronen uit A langs
De plaat A krijgt dus een grotere positieve lading
niet was.

Maar die grotere positieve lading van A zal opnieu
werken op B en daardoor zal weer een aantal
de aarde op B overgaan, waardoor opnieuw electr
de knop van de electriseermachine overgaan en d
lading van A weer groter wordt, enz. Tenslotte
stand in, waarin A een grote positieve en B een
lading heeft. De potentiaal van A is dan weer gelijk
pool van de machine.

Men ziet uit deze redenering, dat de platen A
zij dicht bij elkaar staan, aanmerkelijke ladingen a
worden hoofdzakelijk aan de naar elkaar toe gek

Figure 25, continued

Figure 26. A page of lead type from the second edition.

issue, however, and was able to smooth over the situation at a meeting of the executive committee in the late summer of 1964, when the finance committee (made up of Lewis, Berg, Miles, Schacht, Dumont, and Ménage) also met. At that time he explained that "Although the rules appeared onerous, they were not necessarily applied literally." He believed that a subvention was still obtainable, but under the circumstances advised that he write UNESCO "in such terms as would leave the door open."[269] After some discussion, his suggestion was approved. Nevertheless, the encyclopedia did not accept UNESCO monies again until a decade later.

At the same finance committee meeting, Schacht reported that the encyclopedia had received a $45,000 grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, to be administered by the American Council of Learned Societies. The Foundation's intention was that the encyclopedia would draw $3,000 per annum and profit from the interest; but if the ACLS invested it, it would charge an administration fee of five percent, whereas the interest to be gained would not be more than four percent. The finance committee discussed ways to get around the conundrum, such as having the grant released to the Dutch Academy. Bernhard Lewin was nominated to the executive committee,[270] and Mustafa al-Shihabi and A. S. Bazmee Ansari to the coterie of associate members, to take the places of Muhammad Shafi and Khalil Mardam Bey, deceased in 1963 and 1959 respectively.[271]

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269. Minutes of the meeting of the Finance Committee, September 1, 1964.

270. For Bernhard Lewin (d. 1979), professor at the University of Göteborg and founder of the Arabic dialect studies series "Orientalia Gothoburgensia," see the obituary notice by Heikki Palva, "Bernhard Lewin 1903–1979: Minnesteckning," *Kungl. Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets-Samhället i Göteborg. Årsbok* (1980), 69–73.

271. For Amir Mustafa al-Shihabi (d. 1968), successor of Khalil Mardam Bey (poet, d. 1959) as president of the Arab Academy of Damascus from 1959 until his death, see the obituary notice in *Islamic Studies* 7 (1968), 185–86; Sami Moubayed, *Steel & Silk: Men and Women Who Shaped Syria 1900–2000* (Seattle, 2006), 120–21; and for A. S. Bazmee Ansari (d. 1989), at the time a Pakistani researcher at the Central Institute of Islamic Research, Karachi, who rose to be one of the editors of its journal *Islamic Studies*, see the obituary notice in *Hamdard Islamicus* 12 (1989), 99. In the archive are letters between Bazmee Ansari and Schacht from November 1961 to December 1963 when the former was seeking to find help, including funding from the Rockefeller Foundation, to come to Britain to learn editorial skills "at the Offices of the Encyclopaedia of Islam and the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies." Schacht was initially in favor ("I heartily approve of this, in fact it was I who recommended this to the Rockefeller Foundation when they consulted me about the best place where you might go") but the drawn-out correspondence and persistent requests from Bazmee Ansari for Schacht to, e.g., urge the Foundation to come through, advise on courses in publishing skills at Columbia University, or arrange a training program at E. J. Brill, tried Schacht's patience ("I am sorry I must tell you once more that I cannot, repeat cannot, insert myself into the discussions [with] the Rockefeller Foundation. I am also afraid I cannot advise you on the possibilities of 'training in the techniques of printing, publishing and editing' which might lead to a diploma or certificate or degree [...]. I also doubt very much whether any printing and publishing concern or press would be prepared to train you in the techniques of printing and/or publishing [...]"). After finding out that some essential details (such as the fact that Bazmee

Present at this executive committee meeting in London on August 31 and September 1, 1964, were Abel, Berg, Gabrieli, Lewicki, Lewis, Miles, Nyberg, Pedersen, Schacht, Wieder, De Bruijn, Dumont, and Ménage; Pellat, Massé, and Paret had sent regrets, and Gibb—to whom best wishes were sent—had suffered a debilitating stroke a few months before. A principal item addressed by the committee was the matter of encyclopedia size. Speaking for the editors, Schacht informed the committee that a modification was in order—it was now expected to reach five volumes and one supplement volume. Another point of discussion was the question of how the encyclopedia should deal with contemporary issues. To this "Lewis replied that, apart from the principle, adopted ab initio, that articles on living personalities would not be included, the Editors aimed to make the Encyclopaedia fully up-to-date." Both size and content would be proven wrong at the end of the day.[272]

As noted, articles that were not submitted in time were hastily written by an editor, if not relegated to the Supplement, which was envisaged to appear at the end of the run, now imagined to be only five volumes.[273] The Supplement was problematic, however, and editors conferred during many an editorial meeting about the twofold Supplement dilemma, namely, the fascicule proper was left with a lacuna, sometimes quite obvious if the article was of any heft, and the unplaced article, if eventually received, had to be returned for updating to the author who might be deceased by the time the article was ready to be published in the Supplement. The much later predicament of the unsubmitted history section of al-Shām (Syria), despite continued assurances by the French editor as to the trustworthiness of the author, is a case in point. Considered too important to be sent to the Supplement, and having little time for recourse,[274] the French editor asked the English editor to update the first edition article, which result he then approved. The

Ansari was a civil servant, not employed by the Institute) had been left unsaid, Schacht declared: "This correspondence is now closed." For Muhammad Shafi, see n69, above.

272. The principle of not including entries on living persons, which was mostly adhered to in the second edition, was breached at the very beginning, cf. the article on ʿAbbās II, the Khedive of Egypt (d. 1944) (see chapter one, text at n173). And with the advent of Edmund Bosworth to the helm ten years later, the objectivity of recording events of the twentieth century was regarded with unease, as is clearly exemplified inter alia by the article on Serbia, published in 1997, whose section on the modern period went no further than the nineteenth century.

273. The modification from four volumes to five plus the Supplement, made at this executive committee meeting, seems remarkably conservative given that the editors reported that the letters H and I would fill the third volume. Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee, London, August 31–September 1, 1964, §2.

274. As late as February 10, 1995 the then French editor, Gérard Lecomte, argued to not replace the author, Nikita Élisséeff. Only on June 11, 1995 did he admit defeat and ask Bosworth to update the article by Henri Lammens in the first edition, which Bosworth did during his summer holiday. When received, it was translated into French, then both versions were sent to be typeset, proofed, and printed; it appeared in the spring of 1996. Van Donzel to Raymond, April 26, 1998.

final product ended up offending the entire French nation of scholars, however, which never learned the story behind it or how little time was allowed for its conception.[275] An example of the French reaction was a letter from André Raymond, a loyal encyclopedia supporter:

> It is necessary, however, for me to tell you how shocked I was by the way in which the article Shâm has been treated (maltreated?). I was particularly scandalized by the exclusion of French scholarship. Are the studies of J. Sauvaget, Thierry Bianquis, Nikita Elisséeff, Jean-Claude David so little important to the subject that they don't even merit a mention in the bibliography? It seems to me that there is the problem, which has nothing to do with the French edition of the E.I. This selective myopia is so systematic that one must ask questions about its origin: cavalierness, negligence, incompetence? [...] The scandal is so huge that I envisage taking it public at the general meeting of AFEMAM, which will be held, as you know, in Lyon on July 2–4.[276]

The solution for late articles proposed by the editors to Wieder was to have them printed on separate loose-leaf pages and sent to subscribers; by being individually printed, they could be kept in alphabetical order in a ringed binding. Once the encyclopedia was finished, the loose-leaf Supplement articles would be reprinted, "without many changes," and published as a Supplement volume.[277] Not surprisingly, since the editorial dream bordered on a nightmare for the publisher, Wieder suggested a tweak: he was happy to publish the Supplement earlier, and thought the subscribers would be happy as well, but he shot down the ring-binder format. He could imagine the loose sheets getting lost, which then would have to be replaced, with the outcome a steadily dwindling supply of

275. The section had been allocated during the editorship of Pellat (thus before October 1992) to Élisséeff (1915–1997), a French historian—albeit Russian by birth and parentage—of premodern Islam in the Levant and in particular of Syria, where he spent a good deal of his professional life. Perhaps Élisséeff did not write the piece due to illness—he died fifteen months after it was published—but for years silence reigned about its status, despite regular and, later, incessant reminders, before Edmund Bosworth valiantly saved it from omission (see previous note). For an obituary notice of Élisséeff, see that by Thierry Bianquis, in *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée* 83 (1997), 283–85.

276. Raymond to Van Donzel, April 13, 1998. The "scandal" of which he speaks centered on the French perception of Bosworth personally and, by extension, of the iniquitous English *mentalité*, to which he alludes, generally, unhindered by ignorance of the facts behind the case, viz., that a French author had dropped the ball. One can argue that the French editor was as responsible for an inadequate French bibliography, an insight that eluded those up in arms. AFEMAM stands for Association Française pour l'Étude du Monde Arabe et Musulman," founded in 1985. André Raymond (1925–2011), famed historian of the Near East, especially of its urban aspects, directed the French institute in Damascus from 1966–1975 and was professor at the University of Provence from 1977 until his death (emeritus from 1989). For an obituary, see that by Sylvie Denoix, in *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 131 (2012), online at http://remmm.revues.org/7945.

277. Schacht to Wieder, January 10, 1963.

stock; while the ring-binders, the printing of loose sheets, and their distribution added up to a more costly procedure than normal publication of the encyclopedia. He therefore proposed either printing an annual volume of alphabetized Supplement articles or printing the Supplement articles with each bound volume, which idea he liked best as it required no extra costs.[278] The expense of the encyclopedia being a continuously ongoing concern to the publisher, six months later Wieder announced that the price of a fascicule had to be raised two guilders, from ƒ12 to ƒ14; he could not promise that this would be the last price increase on account of the common market.[279]

An idea that did catch hold, although it is not clear who initiated it, was to reprint, with addenda to bring it up to date, the recently published article Dustūr. It was announced in the editorial committee's progress report of August 1964 and issued late 1965 as a separate booklet of 124 pages. The next editorial progress report drew attention to other long, multi-authored articles, but the Dustūr experiment was not repeated.[280]

Hans de Bruijn resigned effective April 1965, to be replaced by Emeri van Donzel, who had left missionary work in Ethiopia to pursue a doctorate at Leiden University.[281] With the start of his tenure, the honorarium of the Leiden secretary was raised, from (the equivalent of) £10 per month to £15, or ƒ150, to equal that of the French and English assistants. The justification for the lesser amount had been that the duties were lighter—no proofreading or corresponding with authors, or in some cases, research for articles—but the Leiden office's share in encyclopedia work had increased in Schacht's absence, so although he considered the honoraria "really only token payments" whereby there had not been a rise since 1954, the raise went through.[282] De Bruijn was given a one-

278. Wieder to Schacht, March 12, 1963.

279. Wieder to Schacht, October 17, 1963.

280. Ninth Progress Report of the Editorial Committee, December 1966.

281. Emeri J. van Donzel (1925–2017) earned his Ph.D. from Leiden University with a critical edition and translation into French of a Christian apologetical text by a fifteenth-century Yemeni, who converted to Christianity and became a monk in Ethiopia (ʿĔnbāqom, *Anqaṣa amin (La porte de la foi): Apologie éthiopienne du christianisme contre l'Islam à partir du Coran* [Leiden, 1969]). After an initial foray into Indonesian Studies and Semitics, he developed a lifelong interest in Ethiopian culture and languages from his lengthy stay in Addis Ababa. From 1974 until his retirement in 1990, he was director of the Netherlands Institute for the Near East (NINO) in Leiden. He was awarded the royal Order of Oranje-Nassau in 1990, an honorary doctorate from the University of Hamburg in 2003, and the Royal Dutch Academy Medal (Akademiepenning) for his contributions to scholarship in the Netherlands in 2006. Van Donzel was an exceedingly amiable scholar, with a vast treasury of stories and anecdotes with which he regaled his colleagues. A manager in the best sense of the word, the encyclopedia's security and the editors' well-being took precedence during his long tenure; when he became the senior editor upon Pellat's death in 1992, he took on the role of paterfamilias very contentedly. See the tribute by Harry Stroomer, in *ZemZem* (2017), 129–33.

282. Schacht to Berg, March 6, 1965. The honorarium was raised again at the end of 1969, to ƒ200. Lewis to Berg, December 1, 1969.

time payment of ƒ1,000[283] and his free subscription to the encyclopedia was continued out of appreciation for his long service. A year later, April 1966, Ménage was made a member of the editorial committee and Dumont was given the title of Secretary-General, last held by Stern. Whether the latter appointment entailed extra responsibility or was merely nominal is unclear; the only explanation was that the changes "more adequately express the contribution which these two gentlemen are now making to the work of the Encyclopaedia."[284] Another vacancy among the associate members came about with the death of Fuad Köprülü on June 28, 1966, in whose place Halil Inalcik was appointed.[285]

Production of the encyclopedia was by now a fairly smooth, if very involved, operation.[286] After the publication of volume two (C–G), mid-1965, the fascicule was enlarged to 128 pages (the suggestion by Wieder to double its size, expanding it to 160 pages,[287] was apparently shot down), which helped with the costs of printing (one cover in place of two) and shipping; from then on, the fascicule, as it was commonly termed, was really a double fascicule. The editors were proud of the comprehensive multi-authored articles that were planned, such as Ḥamāsa, Ḥarb, Ḥayawān, Indonesia, etc., which they expressly mentioned in the editorial progress report of December 1966. Their publication in the encyclopedia, in line with the space limits that of necessity had to be imposed, was, they felt, "perhaps insufficiently appreciated by many users," since they could have been published "in a more discursive form as a lengthy article or monograph" somewhere else. At the same time, the editors pushed back against the concern of the executive committee that too many articles were being relegated to the Supplement—the first six fascicules (three double fascicules) of volume three had only four such relegations, of which only one (Ḥaḍramawt, ii: In the Islamic Period) was "of major importance."

283. Schacht to Berg, March 15, 1965.

284. Lewis to Berg, March 17, 1966.

285. Mehmet Fuad Köprülü was the descendant of the renowned Ottoman family of grand viziers, the "pioneer of Turkish studies in the modern sense in Turkey," member of parliament, 1935–1945, and one of the founders of the Demokrat Party in 1946. See the encyclopedia entry on him by Fahir İz (vol. 5, 263b–264b); and the recent collection of essays (in Turkish), *Mehmet Fuad Köprülü*, ed. Yahya K. Taştan (Ankara, 2012). For Halil Inalcik (İnalcık, 1916–2016), an authoritative and influential scholar in the field of Ottoman social and economic history, see his personal website, www.inalcik.com, on which is found a full curriculum vitae (Öz Geçmişi). The same year saw the death of Vladimir Minorsky (d. March 25, 1966), a prolific writer for both editions of the encyclopedia, for whom, see the chapter by C. Edmund Bosworth, in idem, *Century of British Orientalists*, 203–18.

286. An English manuscript alone was read and reread by Schacht and Lewis, sometimes traveling between the two five or six times, and retyped twice in the process for ease of reading, before being sent on to Leiden for typesetting. Schacht to Van Donzel, June 9, 1967. For more on the complex procedure, see chapter three, below.

287. Wieder to the Editorial Committee, June 8, 1965. The price per double fascicule, as of 1968, was ƒ33, raised to ƒ48 as of the first fascicule of volume four in 1973. Wieder to the Editorial Committee (to whom he now wrote in French, apparently because Pellat had taken over the reins), May 21, 1973.

With production problems banished to the background, most of the correspondence for the years leading up to Schacht's sudden death in 1969 was engrossed with payments back and forth—to Schacht for postage and travel, which were handled with such unprofessional delay on the part of Berg as far as Schacht was concerned, necessitating numerous reminders, that he arranged for Van Donzel to have authorization to sign cheques; and to authors for their contributions. Not surprisingly, in light of the general complexity of the encyclopedia administration, these were also more tortuous than one would expect—the payments to Schacht, who had bank accounts in Amsterdam, London, New York, and Zurich, sometimes went astray, and the payments to contributors who were not part of either the franc or sterling zone (that is, neither the French nor the English office felt responsible), such as Lewicki in Warsaw, sometimes fell through the cracks.

Schacht, who had planned to retire in 1970 in his sixty-eighth year, "in theory at the end of the academic year in June, in practice at the end of January because I have the right to a so-called terminal sabbatical leave during the second semester," and to move back to Oxford, died of a massive brain hemorrhage on August 1, 1969.[288] He and his wife had sold their house on Ivy Lane in Englewood, NJ, where they had lived so happily, and were planning to move into a furnished rental near Columbia University as of September 1. His unexpected death must have been quite a shock to the others involved with the encyclopedia, at whose helm he had stood for some fifteen years, but apart from a men-

288. Schacht to Berg, May 17, 1969; Wakin, *Remembering Joseph Schacht*, 11. For the saga of the sale of Schacht's library after his death, and the hostile legalistic intervention of the Leiden professor G. W. J. Drewes (d. 1992), see ibid., pp. 10–11; for Schacht's interactions in Leiden with Drewes, p. 8. For an obituary of Drewes, see that by A. Teeuw, in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 150 (1994), 27–49. The tense relationship between Schacht and Drewes is corroborated by a personal communication from Van Donzel, who relates an incident in which Drewes asked him and De Bruijn, his two students, what they were reading with Schacht and then two weeks later introduced the same work in his class. In a rare open moment in his letters, Schacht made fun of Drewes to Van Donzel (March 3, 1969): "I was really amused by hearing that your promoter was de Hooggeleerde [lit. very learned; an alternative address for a professor] Heer Prof. Dr. Drewes sr.; I did not realize that the Hooggeleerde knew anything about Ethiopic. I was equally amused by hearing that the Hooggeleerde Heer Prof. Dr. Drewes jr. had been appointed for South Semitic languages and literatures; it will need only a slight shift in terminology to include "Arabic" in "South Semitic", and then we will have arrived at a new Schultens dynasty, and so straight back to the Middle Ages." A few months later, on the same subject, Schacht criticized "the present level of the Alma Mater Lugduniensis," which "rot started with Kramers, there is no getting away from that. Van Arendonk warned me about it as far back as 1925. I am sorry I was quite unable to stop it or reverse it, as I had hoped." Schacht to Van Donzel, July 14, 1969. For the Schultens triad of theologians, see Johannes van den Berg, "The Leiden Professors of the Schultens Family and Their Contacts with British Scholars," in *Religious Currents and Cross-Currents: Essays on Early Modern Protestantism and the Protestant Enlightenment*, ed. Jan de Bruijn et al. (Leiden, 1999), 231–52; Jan Nat, *De studie van de oostersche talen in Nederland in de 18e en de 19e eeuw* (Purmerend, 1929), 37–57 (Albert Schultens [d. 1750]), 66–72 (Jan Jacob Schultens [d. 1778]), 88–99 (Hendrik Albert Schultens [d. 1793]).

tion of "the delay which had inevitably followed,"[289] there is no trace of the impact it made. The archive of letters does suffer in volume for some time, as much of it had been made up of his letters back and forth. Schacht's last letter in the archive, dated July 24, was addressed to Van Donzel, asking him to have a copy of Wilferd Madelung's "utterly dispassionate and objective" article Imāma printed neatly and on good paper sent to him, so that he could pass it on to the Aga Khan, "in order to keep [his] interest warm, in view of an eventual subvention."

On August 1, 1970, exactly a year after Schacht's passing, Ménage tendered his resignation as editor.[290] He remained a member of the executive committee, however fitfully, until 1978. The appointment of a successor to both him and Schacht was postponed until it was decided in June 1971 to bring Van Donzel on board as editor and to transfer a large part of the English administration to Leiden and to E. J. Brill, where F. Th. Dijkema was assigned to assist Van Donzel.[291] With this development, which came about because of the irreparably damaged relationship between Lewis and Ménage, the involvement of the highest echelon at E. J. Brill with encyclopedia matters tapered off. Secretarial duties in London were taken over by a Miss M. Paterson. Volume three (H–Iram) was completed in the same month, and it was decided to publish the Supplement to the first three volumes and to compile an index of proper names; a grant for the latter was requested from UNESCO, from which $4,000 was received in March 1974.[292]

The financial situation was suddenly rocky again in 1974—the encyclopedia's annual income was $6,580 while annual expenses totaled $14,015. The reasons for the growing deficit were the devaluation of the dollar against the guilder and the increasing costs of travel and translation. At that time, the income was provided by the yearly $3,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation, $1,000 from Aramco, $280 (FF 2,000) from the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, and a cumulative $2,300 (£950) from the Iranian Oil Par-

289. Eleventh Progress Report of the Editorial Committee, December, 1971.

290. Apparently for the second time, as Schacht mentions his resignation in March 1968 ("a serious crisis has been blowing up through the resignation of Dr. Ménage from the Encyclopaedia"), which seems to have then blown over. The reasons given originally were "because he feels he cannot battle any longer with the contributors (who have indeed been trying our patience beyond imagination) and with the printers (whose standards have been declining considerably over the last few years), so that he has been unable to do any scholarly research of his own." In all likelihood, the source of discontent, then as later, was his relationship with Lewis (see below). Schacht to Berg, March 2, 1968.

291. F. (Fokke) Th. Dijkema (b. 1938), who earned a doctorate in 1977 under the supervision of Karl Jahn and Victor Ménage, with a thesis entitled *The Ottoman Historical Monumental Inscriptions in Edirne* (Leiden, 1977), began working at E. J. Brill in March 1967. His first project was watching over the *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, which had been launched in 1958. He went on to head the Islam publishing program and took early retirement in 1992.

292. Characteristically, a "lot of forms" were received from Jean d'Ormesson after the grant was issued, "asking for 'les pièces comptables justifiant l'emploi de la subvention de $4000.'" Ménage to Van Donzel, December 6, 1974. For a history of the indexes, see appendix three, below.

ticipants (£500), Oxford University (£150), British Academy (£200), and SOAS (£100).[293] In addition, the Rockefeller Foundation grant of $45,000 from 1963, divided into fifteen yearly disbursements of $3,000, would end in 1977. Clearly another source of financing needed to be found.

This turned out to be Lewis's time to shine. Lewis was a lackadaisical editor at best, and his apparent tendency to take all the glory while Ménage did all the work led to a difficult relationship between the two and in all likelihood the impetus for Ménage to resign as editor.[294] After a sabbatical year, 1973–4, Lewis accepted an appointment at Princeton University where he learned of the possibility of a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), an agency created by the American Congress in 1965. In answer to Lewis's urgent request of his fellow editors for a suggestion of how much and for how long a grant to apply for, Van Donzel replied that $7,000 a year through 1977 and $10,000 after that, due to the ending of the ACLS grant of $4,000 at that time, probably for another ten years, seemed reasonable ("This may seem pretty high but since we intend to start the work on the Supplement after our meeting in June, we must reckon—apart from the doubling of our own work—with almost double costs for translation, secretarial activities etc.").[295] Lewis complied with the $7,000 sum, but apparently there were craftier heads at work and through the auspices of Princeton University, since the NEH only channeled its grants through American institutions, an application for $73,962 for three years was made in the spring of 1975; in January 1976 Lewis learned that $30,000 had been awarded outright with the remainder to be awarded if the encyclopedia could deliver half of it in matching funds (which it was unable to do). The NEH grant ended up being periodically extended, despite budget cuts by Congress and NEH dissatisfaction with the high price of the encyclopedia, until its final award for a three-year period in 2002.

293. Unofficial agenda of the executive committee meeting, held August 23, 1974 at Schloss Corvey, Höxter, Germany.

294. This is the impression from personal communications with Dijkema, De Bruijn, and Van Donzel; Dijkema recalls that during an editorial meeting Pellat once cried out, "il ne fait rien," referring to Lewis (who kept on smiling). The difficult relationship seems to have been (somewhat) public knowledge, as attested to by Josef van Ess, who in March 1978 wrote to Van Donzel about Ménage's resignation, "Ich weiß aus früherer Korrespondenz, daß in London immer gewisse Spannungen geherrscht haben." There is only one clear reference to how Ménage himself felt about it: "I will not remain connected, however remotely, with an enterprise that allows Lewis to push it about," he wrote Van Donzel on December 22, 1974.

295. Van Donzel to Lewis, March 14, 1975. After this letter, urgency took hold, with a telephone call by Lewis of March 18, a telephone call and letter by Van Donzel to the Dutch Academy on March 20, a telegram from Van Donzel to Lewis confirming that the Academy would act as financial intermediary on March 20, and the application being submitted via Princeton University close to March 28. This flurry of looking into the encyclopedia finances revealed also the missing Swedish Academy grant that had "been sitting with the Dutch Academy for a couple of years." That amount of ƒ3,000—"being the grant of six years"—was transferred to the Leiden account. Van Donzel to Lewis, April 7, 1975.

Even with the skimming off of overhead costs by Princeton (later, and of higher overhead costs, by Harvard) and some loss through exchange rates and commissions when it was then wired to the Dutch Academy for allocation to the encyclopedia bank account in the Netherlands, the encyclopedia would have been very hard pressed to pay editorial costs of travel and postage, author honoraria, however meager, and translation costs without it.[296] The length of time the encyclopedia required to come to an end was unexpected—at the moment of the first application, the editors estimated that another ten years would be needed. By the ten-year point, in 1985, only the fifth volume out of twelve was nearing completion.

Other financial issues than those with which the editors grappled also plagued the encyclopedia—in May 1975 E. J. Brill announced a price increase of nearly nine percent, from *f*48 to *f*54 per double fascicule. According to Wieder, the cost of printing had risen thirty percent and that of paper one hundred percent since the last increase two years earlier.

With Lewis accepting an appointment at Princeton University in 1974, a successor for the English edition was found in C. E. Bosworth, Professor of Arabic Studies at the University of Manchester, and the entire English operation was moved from London to Manchester.[297] This gave Ménage, who had stepped back in to help when Lewis was vis-

296. Translation into English could be paid for with NEH money. The French did hire translators, but until the late 1960s the financial statements from the Paris office do not show any translation expenses (as admitted in the notes of the meeting of the finance committee, September 9, 1958, however: "On behalf of the Paris office, it was stated that their accounts do not include a sum of francs 100,000 which is being contributed towards translators' fees"). Pellat and subsequent French editors did a lot of the work themselves—Pellat had translated 43,000 pages of manuscript by 1991 according to his calculations—and received remuneration from the encyclopedia treasury without specifying costs, that is, they called it office expenses. When this was called out by Van Donzel, who paid out the granted monies, it caused a temporary fissure in the editorial board (see below). The folly of it all is highlighted by a perplexing excuse offered by Dumont during the early years in answer to a complaint from the publisher about the messiness of French manuscripts—"one of our translators, who is remunerated by a body other than the E.I., unfortunately does not own a typewriter. On the other hand, not knowing French very well, Mr. Pellat is obliged to reread her translations painstakingly and to correct them often." Dumont to De Bruijn, November 16, 1962.

297. C. E. (Edmund) Bosworth (1928–2015) read Modern History at Oxford and followed that with an M.A. and Ph.D from Edinburgh University in Middle Eastern Languages and History. At the time of his appointment to the editorial board, he had been at Manchester as Professor of Arabic Studies since 1967, preceded by nine years at St. Andrews University and a visiting professorship at Toronto. He was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1992. He was a prolific scholar, who wrote in a fluid style that belied the complexity of the topic, and many an encyclopedia article that would have been lost to the encyclopedia proper, due to circumstances beyond the control of the editors, was saved by his intercession without a marked loss of quality (the French beg to differ about Bosworth's penning the article al-Shām—Syria—which he had to quickly put together, while on holiday, when the French author did not submit anything with little time to spare; see above). In common with Pellat, Bosworth's uncommon

iting Princeton during the academic year 1973–4, the opportunity to retire completely from the encyclopedia, including from the executive committee, which he did as of 1978. Ménage and George Miles, who had died in October 1975, were replaced on the executive committee by Ann K. S. Lambton and Abraham Udovitch, professors at SOAS and Princeton respectively.[298]

Although the English and French editions of the encyclopedia were meant to be completely in sync, there were differences between them. One reason for this was relatively inconsequential: the French-language articles required more words than the English so that bit by bit the French began to lag behind—when the fourth fascicule of volume four was published, in 1973, the French fascicule began at the end of the article Kalb, twenty-three pages behind the English, which started at Kalpī. The more substantive difference was that unbeknownst to the rest of the editors, Pellat—who was in charge of the translation into French—would add to or subtract from the English articles at his own discretion. He complained that he was forced to "edit or even rewrite (*refaire*) indispensable articles," as the

> propensity to considerably develop the slightest subject results in a logorrhea that is tiresome when one listens [to a presentation], boring when found in an article, especially in the E.I., which forces me to make cuts, slight most of the time, significant in extreme cases. The authors we invite to write articles are necessarily scholars—if they weren't, we wouldn't approach them—but they often don't take the slightest notice of the word count that we indicated, and they submit pages and pages of details totally out of place in an encyclopedia.[299]

breadth of knowledge stimulated and elevated every editorial meeting from dry to illuminating. Despite his renown, he was singularly humble, approachable, and invariably unruffled. For Bosworth, see inter alia the two-volume Festschrift *Studies in Honour of Clifford Edmund Bosworth* (Leiden, 2000), especially the homage by G. M. Wickens in vol. 2, *The Sultan's Turret: Studies in Persian and Turkish Culture*, ed. Carole Hillenbrand, xiii–xviii.

298. For Ann K. S. Lambton (1912–2008), erstwhile student of Gibb, renowned historian of premodern Iran, who retired from SOAS in 1979, see the many obituaries in the British newspapers, including that of the historian David Morgan in *The Guardian* (August 14, 2008), online at www.theguardian.com. For her role in advising the British government on ways to undermine Mossadegh by covert means, see Wm. Roger Louis, *The British Empire in the Middle East 1945–1951: Arab Nationalism, the United States, and Postwar Imperialism* (New York, 1984), 659–61. For Abraham L. Udovitch (b. 1933), student of Franz Rosenthal at Yale and Schacht at Columbia, social and economic historian of the Middle East, who retired from Princeton in June 2008, see the homage by Mark Cohen, in *Histories of the Middle East: Studies in Middle Eastern Society, Economy and Law in Honor of A. L. Udovitch*, ed. R. E. Margariti et al. (Leiden, 2011), 1–7; "The Near Eastern Studies at Princeton University Newsletter" 2,2 (2009), 9–10, online at www.princeton.edu/nes/publications/newsletters. For Udovitch's role in the Stockholm peace process, see his "Making Peace: In Stockholm with Yasir Arafat," *The Village Voice* (December 1988).

299. Pellat, *Une vie d'arabisant*, 121, 122.

The articles that were translated into French were not read by, or of much interest to, the other editors, but even had they been, Pellat was the senior editor and the rest would have been very loath to call him out on it. Intrinsic to the success of the encyclopedia from its inception was the level of independence the editors enjoyed and the restraint that was exercised with regard to the other language edition; this prevented cultural misunderstandings or academic differences from turning into full-blown turf wars that would ultimately scar the enterprise. An example of an edited, or more accurately, depleted English original in the second edition is the (arguably bloated) third section of Makka ("The Modern City"), authored by R. B. Winder, which was reduced from 57 columns in the English to 27 in the French. Even in its diminished size it is large for the encyclopedia, as after the first few volumes, modern history was treated very sparingly in general.

In January 1978 the size of the finished encyclopedia was estimated at nine volumes, "plus supplements," up from the estimate of five plus supplement made in 1964.[300] A few weeks earlier, Wieder had agreed with some reluctance to print volume four, which at only 1188 pages (in English) was smaller than previous volumes. The volume sold for ƒ520 and the fascicule price was raised to ƒ60, from ƒ56, "due to inflation."[301] According to Wieder, the fewer numbers of sales of the French edition—less than half of the English sale numbers—weighed heavily on the price of the English edition.[302]

The second grant application to the NEH, in the summer of 1978, was not acted upon until the committee (the National Council) had more detailed answers to some questions of what the grant was used for—specifically, a three-year plan, an itemization of editorial costs, and a breakdown of the generic "office and meeting expenses" rubric. The very relaxed method of accounting that had sufficed the editors to date was slightly adjusted with added explanation; but the applications mostly relied on guess-work. It was not easy to estimate, for example, how many authors might be paid in fascicules to be published during the grant period, although the remunerative amount was known (ten guilders per column, unchanged since it was established in 1951[303]), or how much would be paid for possible translation costs based on rates that varied from country to country. All this was compounded by the necessity of converting English, French, and Dutch currency

300. Bosworth to M. d'Ormesson, January 26, 1978, with regard to the funding of the Index of Proper Names.

301. According to a US Treasury report (accessible online at www.gpo.gov/fdsys; search Treasury Reporting Rates of Exchange 1978), ƒ2.178 equaled $1 in 1978.

302. "[Het] is nog weer eens duidelijk naar voren gekomen dat de Franse editie, die een afzet heeft die nog niet half zo groot is als die van de Engelse editie, de prijs van de Engelse editie ongunstig beïnvloed[t]." Wieder to Van Donzel, May 26, 1978.

303. In 1954, at the time of the publication of the first fascicule, the remuneration equaled $2.50; by 1978, $5.00. Revised application to NEH, September 12, 1978. The rate of exchange was, of course, fluid; see n309, below.

into dollar amounts that would necessarily fluctuate as well.[304] Despite the objections "raised by several referees and National Council members to the high cost of the Encyclopaedia to the purchaser,"[305] the second grant, totaling $48,560, was awarded to Princeton University in support of the encyclopedia.[306] Princeton divided the grant into three annual increments—$13,000, $13,900, and $14,885, taking $6,865 for "indirect costs"—and sent them to the Royal Dutch Academy for disbursement. (The process, which later went through Harvard University and lost more to indirect costs, remained the same until the end.) When Lewis tallied up the allowed expenses made in 1979 by the three offices and paid for by the first instalment of $13,000, however, the sum came only to $8,137.89, leaving an "embarrassingly large" discrepancy.[307] At the end of the second year's instalment, another third had not been used.[308] The editors realized how unwise it would be to allow this to stand and therefore agreed that, as the reimbursements for the editors and honoraria for the contributors were less flexible than payments to translators, "additional emoluments beyond the present rates" would be included in the latter category in the coming years to make up some of the difference.[309] The editors were not used to having to account for income, and the NEH bureaucracy caused many a headache as the reckoning never matched the estimate.

A change of NEH procedure in the fall of 1980 meant that applications for grants would only be accepted once a year, by October 1; having heard this too late, the encyclopedia faced a six-month period when it was grant-free. At first advised to apply for

304. "I have been attempting to prepare the financial report from the figures you supplied and I need some clarification. [...] I would really appreciate your help in this matter since I have not been able to figure out how you arrived at your totals. I am having a particularly difficult time trying to reconcile the Paris account. Also, could you please tell me where the amounts can be found that add up to £475.50 for editorial expenses from Manchester?" wrote Grace Edelman, secretary, later departmental manager at the Near Eastern Studies Department, Princeton University, to Van Donzel, February 7, 1980.

305. Lewis to Van Donzel, August 24, 1978.

306. Joseph D. Duffey, Chairman NEH, to Allen J. Sinisgalli, Director, Office of Research and Project Administration, Princeton University, January 5, 1979.

307. Lewis to Van Donzel, February 28, 1980. Although the balance could be rolled over from one year to the next, all unused grant money at the end of the three-year period had to be returned to NEH.

308. "Internal Report of the Leiden/Manchester/Paris Offices, Account for 1st January–31st December 1980."

309. Editorial repayments (first year, $4,000; second year, $4,285; third year, $4,575) had been stipulated in the three-year budget submitted to NEH and "we are more or less committed to a standard rate for contributors," wrote Lewis to Van Donzel, April 2, 1980. The "standard rate" would seem to be of the encyclopedia's making rather than imposed by the NEH, since the application for the third grant, to cover 1982–1985, listed the contributors' payment of ƒ10 per column "which is ca $3.80 at the present rate of exchange. This rate to contributors has not been increased since 1954 when the first fascicule was published. [...] We hope that we will not be compelled to increase the rate of payment to contributors, although the possibility cannot be excluded."

an interim grant, for which the editors rushed to account for 1980 expenditures and income, Lewis was then strongly advised instead to request a "no-cost extension," which would allow the unexpended portion of the grant to be used after the grant period had concluded. It took a number of "friends and counsellors both in the University and in the NEH" to make Lewis, and by extension the rest of the editors, to understand that it would "produce an extremely bad impression if we ask for an additional interim grant when we have not yet spent our original grant. This impression would not be improved by a sudden, contrived upsurge in expenditure during the third year."[310] The extension was granted and despite the "fear and trembling" brought on by the threat of the cuts by the Reagan administration to federal subventions of intellectual projects, the three-year grants were continued.

In reading through the extensive correspondence about the NEH grants over the years, the pervasive naiveté and lack of financial acumen on the part of most of the editors come through clearly, although they all become a bit more adept as the years progress. For instance, in their attempt to raise $12,000 in order for it to be matched by NEH, a requirement for the full three-year grant of 1983–1986, they added up various paltry sums that might be forthcoming from European sources,[311] and then suggested adding an unused $5,000 from the Leiden bank account to cover the difference.[312] "The gifts must come from some outside body, to qualify for matching funds. We can hardly expect NEH to double our reserves," Lewis then pointed out.[313] In the end, after the Union Académique Internationale (UAI) refused to provide any subvention, offering only to encourage its individual members to contribute while strongly urging that UNESCO be approached, the encyclopedia received a windfall from a Princeton trustee by the name of Gerald L. Parsky, who donated $8,000 in June and $4,000 in December 1983.[314] In 1984, the Oosters Instituut (Oriental Institute), the umbrella body founded in 1927 by Snouck Hurgronje from monies donated on the occasion of his retirement, and of which Van Donzel was now president, pledged an annual ƒ8,000 (at that time, 24,000 French francs), which was used to support the French office till the end of publication. Then, for five

310. Lewis to Editors, January 26, 1981.

311. The general ambivalence on the part of European funding bodies was frustrating. "It is about time that the European Academies and Institutions do something. The EI is basically a European enterprise, now almost completely depending on the NEH." Van Donzel to Lewis, June 30, 1982.

312. Van Donzel to Lewis, June 30, 1982, reporting on an editorial meeting held at Manchester without Lewis, who was in Israel.

313. Lewis to Editors, July 15, 1982.

314. "Verslag van de 57e Zitting van de U.A.I. te Copenhagen, 12–18 juni 1983," June 21, 1983. The editors' reluctance to apply to UNESCO for funds stemmed still from the belief that it would cost the encyclopedia its editorial independence, although d'Ormesson declared this unfounded.

years from 1987 on, it contributed $1,000, which with a contribution from E. J. Brill for $4,000 in 1987 meant $5,000 in matching NEH funds for the grant on hand.[315]

It is valid, however, to ask whether the onus of ensuring the financial security of the encyclopedia, which for a long time amounted in practice to scraping funds together from all and sundry, should have been placed on the shoulders of those responsible for the academic integrity of the project; as with the first edition, the editors of the second were occupied nearly fulltime with this exercise. Complicating the time-consuming financial venture were the exchange of the three currencies of guilder, franc, and pound sterling; the fluctuating value of the dollar; and unexpected gifts—however tiny—that could not be included in the NEH budget and at times caused a surplus, making the editors scramble to use them up so as not to endanger the next NEH grant.

The Index of Proper Names, compiled from the first three volumes, saw the light in 1979[316] and the first Supplement double fascicule (1–2), which included late or later conceived articles through volume three, was in production by the end of 1979. Lewis expressly asked that his name not be listed on the Supplement title page as he "had no part at all in the planning or preparation." No reaction to this request is recorded but he must have been talked out of it—or it was studiously ignored—since he is listed on all three Supplement double fascicules that appeared during his term as editor.[317]

Except for some hiccups, such as the 1982 Turkish ban on importing fascicule 85–86 because of the entry Kurds, Kurdistān; Pellat feeling stalked by a German scholar who telephoned with reproaches and sent critical commentary on the anonymously penned article Liwāṭ;[318] and issues regarding a change of production technique after volume five, publication of the encyclopedia continued apace. The change in typesetting from lead to photo offset as of volume six benefited the publisher in that the new process required

315. Van Donzel to W. Backhuys, Director, E. J. Brill, February 16, 1987; Van Donzel to Lewis, February 17, 1987; De Bruijn, Secretary, Oosters Instituut, to the editors, February 18, 1987. For a sketch of the Oriental Institute, see Otterspeer, *Leiden Oriental Collections*, 109–11.

316. For more on the encyclopedia indexes, see appendix three, below.

317. This request was not unknown: Gibb had asked for it earlier (see text at n149, above) and it was reiterated when all five editors wanted their names removed from the third edition of the index of terms, published in 1999, since Brill insisted on publishing it, as the income had been budgeted for the year, without it being fully revised. A compromise was reached by a disclaimer being published, although the disclaimer the editors drafted was changed by Brill without notice.

318. Liwāṭ (sodomy) was signed Réd., the recourse for articles that an editor did not want to be known for. In a moment of carelessness (*imprudence*) Pellat had told a person unknown to him during a telephone call that he was working on the article; after its publication, he received some letters and telephone calls "pour me reprocher en particulier d'avoir cité A. Mez; mais je ne l'ai pas laissé continuer et j'ai raccroché." Pellat to [Van Donzel], August 30, 1988. Arno Schmitt, the person in question, then published an edited volume that reproduced the encyclopedia article under Pellat's name, which Schmitt commented upon. It was published the year of Pellat's death. Arno Schmitt and Jehoeda Sofer, eds., *Sexuality and Eroticism among Males in Moslem Societies* (New York, 1992).

only one typesetter, which kept labor costs low, but problems ensued when he became ill for an extended period. In addition, the letter on the page was less legible than even the older letter and the editors were briefly up in arms until the publisher solved the visual problem. By 1985, when the adjustment took place, volume five was just shy of completion and authors were being solicited for entries, such as Muḥammad, that would appear in volume seven. As of volume four, E. J. Brill had increased the print run from 4,000 copies to 5,000 because of stronger sales, and the price of the volume had risen as well—volume four was sold for ƒ520 ($203.95), up from ƒ396 ($155.30), according to the third NEH application for the years 1982–1985.

Lewis retired from Princeton on June 30, 1986; to continue the Princeton connection with NEH he suggested appointing Abraham Udovitch or Michael Cook as his successor as editor.[319] At one of the very many editorial meetings Lewis did not attend, held in Paris in April 1986, the remaining editors agreed, however, to go beyond the Princeton connection and Wolfhart Heinrichs, at Harvard University, was asked to become a member of the editorial committee. Van Donzel reasoned that "by asking a German scholar, we might express our gratitude towards the German colleagues who, notwithstanding the fact that, for obvious reasons, the second edition of the Encyclopaedia could not appear in German, they most loyally and punctually have always collaborated."[320] Lewis conceded gracefully ("You have my blessing") and because he did not retire until the middle of the first year of the three-year grant, the NEH monies for 1986 through 1988 were assured. The nomination of Heinrichs was approved by the executive committee over the 1987 summer and he took over the mantle officially as of December 1987 (fig. 16).[321] However, in September already he had been immediately presented with the task of applying for the 1988–1991 NEH grant, made more difficult because the "abbreviated application

319. Lewis to Van Donzel, February 25, 1986. For Abraham Udovitch, see n298, above. Michael A. Cook (b. 1945) was a graduate student of Lewis's at SOAS, where he taught from 1966–1986. He was appointed Cleveland E. Dodge Professor of Near Eastern Studies at Princeton University the year of Lewis's retirement, and in 2007 was awarded the title of Class of 1943 University Professor of Near Eastern Studies; he is the author of, among other publications, the magisterial *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought* (2001). The reasons for not considering either were a perceived unreliability in communication for the one and not being known to the editors for the other, but my guess is that not being German was paramount, as Van Donzel worked tirelessly to remedy what he considered an unnecessary decision in the past.

320. Van Donzel to Lewis, May 13, 1986.

321. Wolfhart P. Heinrichs (1941–2014), from 1996 until his death James Richard Jewett Professor of Arabic at Harvard University, was a renowned scholar of Arabic literary theory. Modest and unassuming, with a gargantuan knowledge of his field, an understated wit, and a lively interest in ancient Near Eastern languages and dialects, Heinrichs was an inspiring colleague and adored teacher; his sudden death at the age of seventy-two stunned the field. For an obituary, see that of Michael Cooperson, in *al-ʿUsur al-Wusta* 23 (2015), available online at http://islamichistorycommons.org/mem.

experiment" that had been allowed for renewals was terminated and the application to the NEH returned to standard levels of bureaucratic complexity.

It was in 1987 as well that Gérard Lecomte began to make more of an appearance (fig. 15).[322] He had been appointed successor to Pellat years earlier—in 1970—when Berg, representative of the Dutch Academy on the executive committee, suggested "très délicatement" that Pellat think about such contingencies in the event of the unforeseeable.[323] Lecomte came to an editorial meeting and met Van Donzel and Bosworth for the first time in May 1987, spurred by Pellat's news of health issues:

> Without contemplating my resigning, I should update you as to the state of my health, which threatens to jeopardize my collaboration [...] In a word, apart from the arthritis in my right thumb, which makes writing very difficult, I have been undergoing chemotherapy in one clinic and radiation in another since mid-March, hoping to avoid a cystectomy that has been hanging over me for the past six years.[324]

Other personnel additions were afoot as well—in January 1989 the new director of E. J. Brill, Frans Pruijt, was appointed, upon the dismissal of Wim Backhuys, who had taken over from Wieder in June 1981 (see chapter three). Pruijt would become heavily invested in the encyclopedia, joining the editors on their editorial trips to Morigny (fig. 13) and deciding single-handedly to bring in an Arabist, Peri Bearman, to join Brill's editorial staff.[325] Having cleared the ship at E. J. Brill, which had undergone a mutiny and was flailing off course by the mismanagement of its previous director, Pruijt proceeded

322. Gérard Lecomte (1926–1997), professor at the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO), was a scholar of Arabic literature, best known for his comprehensive study of Ibn Qutayba. He was a more amiable and approachable colleague than Pellat had been, but continued the tradition of French sensitivity to perceived criticism. For an obituary notice, see that by G. Troupeau, in *Arabica* 45 (1998), 446–47.

323. Pellat, *Une vie d'arabisant*, 153. By the time Lecomte was able to assume the editorship, in 1992 upon Pellat's death, he and Pellat were barely on speaking terms, however. Van Donzel described Berg's suggestion of appointing a successor ("you could get hit by a car") as "dropping like a bombshell" (personal communication), so Pellat's qualification may be intended sarcastically.

324. Pellat to Van Donzel, April 6, 1987. Pellat underwent the surgery a month later, which subsequently left him walking with difficulty so that travel was out of the question. Editorial meetings were then held at Morigny (see n242, above), a short distance from Pellat's home in Bourg-la-Reine.

325. Peri Bearman (b. 1953), American-born but a graduate of Leiden's famed Arabic Studies program (*doctoranda*, leaving before completing her doctoral thesis), was recommended to Pruijt by Jan Brugman (see n253, above), a member of E. J. Brill's board of supervisors. She began in July 1990 with proofreading the English encyclopedia because of increasingly louder calls of distress from the publisher's production department with regard to the number of typographical errors left in the text, and was immediately co-opted into the editorial meetings, which Dijkema tolerated, until she was handed the management of the encyclopedia at his expense and serious displeasure in early 1991.

to reorganize the encyclopedia too, inter alia providing the editors with fax machines for quicker communication[326] and substituting a written contract for the existing tacit understanding that had existed from time immemorial. Although the editors signed the contract, years later they chafed at the meddling in encyclopedia matters that it allowed future administrators.

Upon coming across this flagship product, it had not taken Pruijt long to figure out that if the encyclopedia continued at the rate of publication it enjoyed, which on average had declined to three published English and French double fascicules in two years, all persons involved—the subscription base being perhaps the most important in his eyes—would have met their demise long before.[327] He consequently drafted a schedule of publication whereby the encyclopedia, at that time having just brought out volume six, would be completed in twelve years.

> Much attention [at the editorial meeting of March 1991] was given to the speeding up of the publication. I trust Dr. Dijkema sent you the time-table, which might seem optimistic but they mean business. This entails among other things that we have to meet more often [...].”[328]

Although Bearman had no role in the reorganization of the publication schedule set forth at this editorial meeting, her simultaneous introduction to Pellat, as well as her youth and perhaps gender, earned her his considerable distrust. He was particularly suspicious of her inclination to write a word of thanks upon receipt of the copy for each fascicule, which in his eyes meant that he was working for her; in addition, she was a reluctant meat-eater, especially of tiny birds that were recognizable on a plate, and preferred water to wine. He went to his deathbed confident that in addition to being a barbarian, *l’américaine* would be the ruin of the encyclopedia and all his hard work.[329]

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326. “It seems that pretty soon and thanks to Mr. Pruyt we will correspond with each other by way of fax machines. Well, I’ll be!” Heinrichs to Van Donzel, April 22, 1991. Bosworth resisted at first, not wanting such a contraption in his home, but was very soon one of its most avid users.

327. Perhaps he had read a review, published in 1989, that began: “In 1948 Orientalists decided to update the first edition [...] completed in 1938. By 2038 when most of us will be in our graves the eleventh and final volume of the New Edition will have been out for about a decade.” Adrian Brockett, in *BSMES Bulletin* 16 (1989), 84–86.

328. Van Donzel to Heinrichs, March 18, 1991. The schedule at first required publishing four (double) fascicules (of each language) per year, which soon proved to be impossible, not least because E. J. Brill itself could not manage the increased amount of typesetting, at which point everyone settled on three annually. Editorial meetings to allocate entries increased from two annually to three.

329. Unfortunately, the letters between the two of them have not been traced—Pellat’s archive vanished upon his death and Bearman’s correspondence entered a black hole at Brill’s, untraceable by present-day employees. For obituary notices upon Pellat’s death, see the address given by Jacques Monfrin, in *Comptes-rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 3 (1992), 647–49; that by M. Talbi,

Over the years Pellat had fallen out with most of his colleagues due to an ornery nature and the idiosyncratic perils of French academe. Publication of his memoir was delayed fifteen years on account of his speaking ill of many living compatriot scholars. Two names in particular were *personae non gratae* at editorial meetings: Janine Sourdel and André Miquel. When it was time to allocate the article on the geographer al-Muqaddasī, silence reigned at the table around which the editors were seated. It was clearly an article for which Miquel would be an obvious choice, but the editors waited in vain for Pellat to suggest him. After an uncomfortable few minutes, Bosworth proposed, "Miquel peut-être?" "Mais si vous voulez," Pellat scoffed.[330] Similarly, Pellat suffered having Lecomte as his successor, with whom he had also developed a difficult relationship, for no particular known reason. Whether because Lecomte resented being treated more as an assistant than an equal or because Pellat did not want to have the threat of Lecomte physically present, Lecomte did not attend the editorial meetings at Morigny but would drive down from Paris on the evening when the other editors would arrive, enjoy a sumptuous dinner and breakfast, and slip out before Pellat came the next morning.[331] On one occasion Pellat showed up early, catching Lecomte enjoying his café au lait. His greeting was gruff. Lecomte slunk out and nothing more was said. Lecomte faithfully visited Pellat when he was ill, toward the end, but still he could not start work on the encyclopedia. Finally, Pellat gave up his resistance—"bon, c'est à vous," he announced. He died a day later, October 28, 1992, having shepherded the French edition on his own since 1956.

Lecomte's succession was not a given in the eyes of the Collège de France, which proposed the appointment of Janine Sourdel as French editor. When this news reached Van Donzel, through the offices of Jean Leclant, Egyptologist and since 1983 Permanent Secretary of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres,[332] the former was quick to formally announce that the succession was a prerogative of the executive committee and Pellat's successor had already been decided.

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in *Les Cahiers de Tunisie* 45 (1992), 9–11; and the preface by F. Dachraoui, in the special issue dedicated to Pellat of *Les Cahiers de Tunisie* 35 (1987).

330. The historian André Miquel (b. 1929) is best known for his three-volume study *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11e siècle*. He was appointed head of the Bibliothèque Française from 1984–1987. His appointment in 1976 to the Collège de France, in place of Pellat, doomed any possibility of cordial relations. Cf. Pellat, *Une vie d'arabisant*, 142–44. In addition, Pellat considered it unseemly for Miquel to publish a memoir of his teenage son's death (*Le fils interrompu*, 1971) (personal communication from Van Donzel). For Pellat's enmity with Mme. Sourdel, see Pellat, *Une vie d'arabisant*, esp. 145–47.

331. After one particular incident of animosity Lecomte threatened to quit prematurely, which Van Donzel was able to forestall by warning Lecomte that such a step would signal the end of the French edition. Personal communication from Van Donzel.

332. For Jean Leclant (1920–2011), see his biography on the Collège de France website, www.college-de-france.fr.

Not everything that Pruijt proposed reaped the fruit of his energies. One change in tradition—using "issue" instead of "fascicule," which he had learned from "a Charles Smith of MacMillan's [was] totally unknown to the American market"[333]—met a wall of resistance. Van Donzel pointed out that the word could be used in both English and French and Heinrichs sealed the rebuff:

> As for "fascicule," I think the EI has firmly established this term on the American market! Seriously, the word is listed in the *American Heritage Dictionary*, so there's absolutely nothing wrong with it. Mr. Pruyt seems a bit prone to going overboard with his innovations.[334]

An earlier innovative idea also was stillborn. Pruijt approached Algemene Bank Nederland (ABN) to inquire about the possibility of a special loan or lease-to-purchase arrangement for buyers who wanted the expensive set but could not afford it in one fell swoop. His idea was that the bank would buy the set of the encyclopedia from E. J. Brill and then recoup its money from the customer as it saw fit. He made a point of telling the bank that as most of the customers were foreign, Dutch bank practices would not be applicable.[335] One can only guess at ABN's reaction.

This was a golden time for the encyclopedia editors. Pruijt was unstinting in his appreciation of the work that they were doing on E. J. Brill's behalf, and bountiful in small kindnesses. He was an enthusiastic admirer of the scholarly aptitude and genuinely interested in the study of Islam. He also infused the publishing company with a zest for its métier and although its profits were his first concern—Pruijt sold the profit-draining typesetting and printing operation, no small feat given the strength of the unions involved, as well as the antiquarian and bookselling division, both of which had characterized Brill from the outset—he made the senior acquisitions editors feel that they were the

333. Van Donzel to Heinrichs, August 16, 1991. Charles E. Smith (d. 1997) worked his way up at Macmillan Publishing to president and publisher of the Macmillan/Scribner Library Reference Division; he left in 1989 for Simon and Schuster, later leaving to start his own company, Charles E. Smiths Books. See the obituary notice in *The New York Times* of December 17, 1997.

334. Heinrichs to Van Donzel, September 12, 1991.

335. "In toenemende mate bemerken wij, dat particuliere geleerden deze prijs te hoog vinden om in een keer te betalen. Ik wend mij tot u met de vraag of via de bank of een van haar dochters een financieringsmethode is te vinden, waarbij de E[I] wordt afbetaald, dan wel in huurkoop verkregen. Ik wijs erop dat het hier natuurlijk vaak om buitenlandse afnemers gaat, zodat de huidige bankactiviteiten in Nederland daarop niet rechtstreeks van toepassing kunnen zijn. Het zou wel een faciliteit zijn, die wij aan onze afnemers dan willen aanbieden, waarbij vanuit Brill aangenomen wordt dat de bank ons de verkoopwaarde direkt uitbetaalt. De relatie tussen de bank en de afnemers is iets waar Brill dan verder buiten zou blijven." Pruijt to ABN, November 16, 1990. Uncatalogued Brill archive, Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam Library.

demi-gods of its business. His sudden death from a massive heart attack at the age of 48, on December 5, 1993, was a huge blow.

Amid the temporary rosy glow of recognition, the gritty editorial work continued without fail. Although not a zealous slasher of articles in the least, Bosworth was compelled to raise for discussion the surgent verbosity of the encyclopedia articles when he received a submission of twenty-two pages, or approximately eight columns worth of text, for a location not known for much in Islamic history outside of it being the site of a Crusader fortress. The editors traditionally respected an author's output and even often gave authors discretion in determining length, which had been the case here on the basis that simply an update of the article in the first edition was asked for. "It is reasonable to expect an updating to be not excessively longer than the original," Bosworth grumbled.[336] Not only was "proportionate importance" at issue, "the sheer volume requiring translation" was a concern. Lecomte immediately drafted a note to French-language authors to impress upon them that the deadlines they were given were firm and that a blind eye would no longer be turned to an author flagrantly exceeding the length ("atteignant jusqu'au coefficient 10") asked for by the editors—"les articles manifestement excédentaires" would be returned to the authors to shorten.[337] Bearman had her "misgivings about sending such a letter to authors on whom we are totally dependent, and the majority of whom are reliable," and felt that the responsibility to edit fell on the editors. "For years, the Encyclopaedia has allowed authors to overstep their word count and to now react with an inflated sense of indignation is exaggerated."[338] Heinrichs pointed out the "reverse problem [of] disappointingly short entries";[339] shortly thereafter the article Ṣād appeared and was noted as having been enlarged by the editors, in which general phrase we should probably recognize Heinrichs's work.

Although the editors were agreed and avid, the fire burned out quickly. Obvious examples notwithstanding, the sheer volume of work and the rhythm of publication ensured that the editorial rigor would necessarily falter. Indeed, Bosworth had to raise the matter of prolixity again in a letter to Van Donzel two years later, which ended ominously: "The above procedures [editorial abridgment of the articles to the requested size]

336. Bosworth to fellow editors, January 8, 1994. The increase in size was 220%. Although some articles were listed as having been "shortened by Ed.," this was not always the case, e.g., Masḳaṭ was reduced from 53 pages to 8 (appearing as five cols.) without anyone being the wiser.

337. "[Le Comité de Rédaction] rappelle aux collaborateurs deux contraintes qui ne pourront désormais plus être éludées: Les délais de remise des manuscrits seront plus que jamais considérés comme des dates-butoir au-delà desquelles les articles seront renvoyés sans appel aux Suppléments. [...] Les dépassements majeurs du volume suggéré par le Comité ne pourront plus être assumés." "Note d'information aux auteurs," undated but early 1994.

338. Bearman to Bosworth, Heinrichs, and Van Donzel, January 25, 1994.

339. Heinrichs to Van Donzel, January 27, 1994.

may sound draconian, but I do not see myself continuing as an Editor unless they are substantially accepted."[340]

These years were particularly troubled—the ever-present smoldering differences between the French editor and the Anglo-Saxon bloc, as Lecomte would describe the others, were roiled by circumstances, not least of a financial nature. Production issues were always in the background as well; in November 1995, when relations between the two language editions were bristly, Lecomte would forget his own stern words to his authors, writing to Bearman in defense of a French author, "the notion of 'late' so often invoked in your letter should be tempered, it seems to me, in light of unilateral decisions of accelerating publication which make what we do a race against the clock as annoying as [it is] detrimental to the quality of the work."[341]

In the course of 1994 it became clear that allocating NEH funds to the French edition—of the FF 106,822.10 credited in 1994, only FF 7,000 was from a French source, the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres[342]—was not in accordance with the institution's intentions, in particular as regards subsidizing the heavy costs of translating some two-thirds of the text into French for the francophone market.[343] A meeting between representatives from the NEH and E. J. Brill whereby the publisher was told that a cut of forty percent was envisaged for the 1997 disbursement also added fuel to the fire.[344] Solutions to come up with the necessary funds that could be used for the French edition or to decrease its expenses, which were five times as much as the English edition, were bandied about in 1995, leading to intermittent angry outbursts by the increasingly agitated

340. Bosworth to Van Donzel, April 26, 1996.

341. Lecomte to Bearman, November 2, 1995. This was in response to a drawn-out situation in which one late, and important, article due from a French author was allocated to another without Lecomte being aware till after the fact. Bearman wrote him that "After you had left the [editorial] meeting [held early October], I was asked by the three remaining Editors to have [someone else] write the article and to inform you of their decision." This was not an unusual modus operandi for the editors. Bearman to Lecomte, November 7, 1995.

342. "Bilan de l'année 1994," January 13, 1995. This does not rhyme with the FF 10,000 consistently mentioned by Van Donzel in his annual reports as the Académie's contribution. In a fundraising proposal drafted in May 1995, Lecomte notes that the Académie's contribution would be raised to FF 9,000. "Projet d'institutionnalisation du budget de la Rédaction française," May 20, 1995.

343. Although NEH money was not given to the French office specifically for translations into French, given the tact that the editors imposed on themselves with regard to decisions made by another editor, no questions were ever posed about expenses made. Van Donzel was surprised to be asked by Lecomte's wife a few months after Lecomte succeeded Pellat why he was not being paid the same as Pellat; as Van Donzel had not been paying Pellat, these were then construed to have been payments-to-self for translations thought to have been made selflessly by Pellat.

344. Notes from a meeting between Martha B. Chomiak and Jane Rosenberg (NEH) and Lizzy Venekamp (E. J. Brill), November 22, 1995.

and anxious French editor.[345] A subplot also was brewing—the push to streamline the encyclopedia administration and concentrate it in one hand rather than keep it divided among the two administrative offices of Paris and E. J. Brill. Since 1991 two dedicated positions at Brill were assigned to the task of managing the encyclopedia, which greatly improved efficiency as well as saving on expenses accrued by the English edition, but the continued division of the French and English offices ensured confusion and an incomplete overview of the whole. It was responsible, inter alia, for the double inviting of entries, such as the entry Sanūsiyya, which was asked of P. Shinar in February 1992 (Leiden office) and independently of J. L. Triaud in November 1993 (Paris office). When this was discovered, two weeks after Triaud had been invited and when Shinar's deadline for delivering the article was nigh, Lecomte adamantly refused to disinvite him. "I am not inclined to dispose voluntarily of Professor Triaud, which would not only compromise the confidence I believe I am in the process of inspiring, but also, and perhaps above all, would render the editorial committee incompetent in the eyes of francophone authors," he wrote.[346] Lecomte suggested that the English edition publish the article by Shinar, the French edition that of Triaud, which proposal was not given any credence. In a letter to Van Donzel of the same date, enclosing a copy of his letter to Bosworth, Lecomte alludes to a falling-out if it was not resolved in his favor ("Si elle [his suggestion] n'était pas retenue, je ne vois pas bien comment sortir de là, à moins d'un éclat"). Shinar was offered up. Threats of resignation would recur each time "la perfidie anglaise" was sensed. "This Sunna business is the last straw. I'm on the verge of resigning," Lecomte wrote concerning a conflict in what Lecomte saw as the French monopoly on Berber languages.[347] The *affaire Sunna* referred to a very overdue article that the three other editors successfully took out of the (French) author's hands and reallocated, while the Berber language confrontation involved a number of players: Van Donzel, who had consulted a Dutch authority, Harry Stroomer, on desired Berber articles; Lecomte, who believed he was responsible for everything concerning Berber; Stroomer, who was invited to write Tamazight and Tashelhit; and Lionel Galand, who had recommended that Lecomte consult with Claude Lefébure and then involved himself with the miscommunication by writing to Stroomer to tell him of the situation. As was par for the course, both sides interpreted it differently: Van Donzel was personally offended that he would be accused, as he saw it, of dishonesty

345. Even given the differences of the Leiden office paying English authors their honoraria, the English edition not employing an administrative assistant, and there being much less for the English to translate, a comparison of French costs over the last ten years had shown that where the editorial work was equal, the unequal cost of the two editions was very apparent. Van Donzel to Lecomte, June 29, 1995. In this imbroglio it was discovered that the French had been silently paying their authors more than had been agreed upon—FF 50 per column to the English £10 (approximately FF 33). This especially infuriated Van Donzel.

346. Lecomte to Bosworth, November 28, 1993.

347. Lecomte to Bearman, January 25, 1996.

by acting out of line, while Lecomte was personally offended that his responsibility, as he saw it, had been violated. Bearman and Bosworth were confused why, in the presence of Lecomte, Stroomer had been invited for these two articles with no objections raised to begin with. Somehow harmony was restored, a third person ended up writing Tamazight, and Tashelhit was divided equally among the French and English offices.

This highlighted another concern, the too personal nature of the French involvement, which Lecomte—alone among the four editors—did not characterize as a problem. Rather he declared, "I have put together by dint of sheer determination a team of authors [of which] the majority are new, young, and very often my colleagues or my former students (sometimes, from forty years ago). I have tried to make clear that all these people are motivated largely by the personality of those responsible for the Paris office."[348] Thus entwined, the editor–author relationship inconvenienced the required objectivity on Lecomte's part, especially as concerned a number of less than stellar articles that, to avoid a continued state of tension, the other editors let publish.[349]

Primarily for these reasons Bearman felt that combining the two encyclopedia administrations would only be beneficial, but such a move would essentially mean that Mme. Nurit's services would no longer be required. This was a painful thought after so many years, especially since the Sorbonne had revoked the use of Morigny as conference center around the same time and her hosting at the meetings was therefore also no longer required. Van Donzel found additional leverage when it was discovered that entries that had been given a q.v. or cross reference were missing left and right; from early on, it had been one of Mme. Nurit's tasks to note all the q.v.s, so that the user led thus to an entry would in fact find it. Lecomte argued in her defense that these were editorial responsibilities that could not be expected of her, especially as far as the English edition was concerned,[350] and unsurprisingly he threatened to quit if the French office was tampered with in any way.

On top of this, E. J. Brill had discovered that the French encyclopedia bookseller, Maisonneuve et Larose, had been duping it for years by pretending to have twice as many

348. Lecomte to Van Donzel, July 20, 1995.

349. One exception was Shāʿir.B. From the ʿAbbāsid Period to the Nahḍa, which was summarily rejected when it arrived for translation into English. Even Lecomte had to admit, when confronted, that it was not *Encyclopaedia*-worthy, despite the fact that a former student had authored it. The missing section was relegated to the Supplement and allocated to another.

350. "[N]ous savons tous depuis toujours qu'il est hors de question de lui demander des responsabilités au niveau rédactionnel, en particulier *en anglais*." Lecomte to Van Donzel, May 7, 1995. The emphasis on the English aspect was slightly exaggerated since the two editions were meant to enter a q.v. in the same places. Van Donzel had surveyed the first English volume and found that some twenty-five future entries were unaccounted for. Since the Supplement to one-fourth of the encyclopedia had already been published, some were lost for good; others could appear under headings that were not necessarily immediately intuitive.

subscribers to the encyclopedia as was the case. Instead, it had a warehouse full of unsold wares, which Brill had been producing and selling to it at a discount of forty-five percent.[351] To make up for its losses, the price of the French fascicule was raised to ƒ110, a hefty increase, and the (double) fascicule, of both editions, was shortened to 112 pages instead of the traditional 128.

Faced with now having to find sufficient French funding because of the reined-in NEH funds, Lecomte acted. What exactly was told the French colleagues has never been ascertained, but it soon became apparent that it had been received as an all-out assault on the French encyclopedia.[352] In November 1995 the Association Française des Arabisants, a group founded in 1973, approved the following motion of support for the allegedly abandoned French edition, after having heard the "alarming report presented by Mr. G. Lecomte [...] on the unacceptable budgetary restrictions that will affect in the short term the very existence of the French edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam."[353]

> Motion: The members of the Association Française des Arabisants, having met at the occasion of their annual meeting on November 25, 1995, and been informed by the Editor of the French edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam of the financial difficulties likely to endanger the very existence of the French office responsible for this publication, want to make known their commitment

351. Maisonneuve had been the French distributor for E. J. Brill since 1952, but the bookseller had endured stormy times. In September 1969 a family dispute between the widow, whose husband Adrien died intestate, and her children led the widow to ask E. J. Brill to consider purchasing the bookseller. "Notes from a meeting with Mme Maisonneuve," Paris, September 23, 1969. Uncatalogued Brill archive, Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam Library. The break-up of the long-term relationship between E. J. Brill and Maisonneuve in 1995 was not smooth: no agreement was reached regarding the termination of the distribution arrangement, "so no terms were agreed for returns of fascicules" and "we cannot value the stock that you refer to, nor can we discuss any form of return. We regard the voluminous discounts rewarded to Maisonneuve by Brill in the past, as part of the contractual agreement to compensate for the risks of purchasing a fixed amount of fascicules and other products." Reinout Kasteleijn, director E. J. Brill, to Jean Pierre Pinardon, director Maisonneuve et Larose until 1993, April 2 and May 13, 1997. Uncatalogued Brill archive, Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam Library.

352. Although the publisher's suggestion that ending the French edition after the next volume if it could not recoup its costs was on the table ("Ik vind dat [Lecomte] ook moet weten dat wij, gezien de onzekerheid van beschikbare subsidies, niet kunnen garanderen dat we de Franse editie na 1997 kunnen voortzetten"; Lizzy Venekamp, editorial director E. J. Brill, to Van Donzel, September 5, 1995), the threat had never actually been relayed to Lecomte.

353. Floréal Sanagustin, President of the AFDA, to Van Donzel, January 30, 1996, enclosing the unanimously approved motion. Van Donzel was extremely insulted upon receipt of the letter—as keeper of the funds he felt personally accused of masterminding the "unacceptable budgetary restrictions"—and he unceasingly recounted his side of the story until, having heard about his dismay from Thierry Bianquis two years later, Sanagustin apologized, admitting that the situation might have been described to him by Lecomte in terms that were "peut-être excessifs." Sanagustin to Van Donzel, October 30, 1997.

> to the existence of an autonomous French structure responsible for all levels of preparation of the French edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam. They wish also to make known that any provision containing the disappearance of this structure would not receive approval of the community of French and francophone scholars of Arab and Islamic Studies. The AFDA declares itself no less inclined to assist the French Editor in exploring all possibilities for financing in place of the earlier arrangement (*en relais du dispositif précédent*).

When Van Donzel explained the state of affairs to Leclant of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, he was told that "the situation as you described it to me was [not] presented to them [André Caquot and Daniel Gimaret] in the same terms by M. Lecomte."[354] Lecomte also announced that a new society had been founded, the Association des Collaborateurs et Amis de l'Edition Française de l'Encyclopédie de l'Islam.[355]

As of April 1, 1996, Van Donzel ceased sending any NEH money to the French; he tried to keep the damage to a minimum by diverting as many of the European subventions that he could spare. Even so, Lecomte aimed to raise some FF 90,000 and was convinced he would be successful.[356] With difficulty, about which the other editors only heard bits and pieces, Lecomte was able to secure some funds although in the end he was sorely disappointed in the result. On April 10, 1997, a week shy of his untimely death, Lecomte wrote to Van Donzel about the French 1997–1998 budget:

> The disaster is of a scale that I would not have imagined only three weeks ago. If the small, marginal subventions stay the same, the participation of the Centre National du Livre, which assured our keeping our head above water with FF 50,000 net for 96–97, *has been reduced* to FF 30,000 (I repeat, thirty thousand) for 97–98, which will not prevent it from being taxable, so that, on balance, the deficit—compared to a situation I naively thought saved this winter—will be set at some FF 27,000. I can also add that application to the Brussels Commission, in which I had some hope, was met with a refusal.

Lecomte was ill at this time with what for some time he had been self-diagnosing as an ulcer ("all is well here except for cranky and narrow-minded authors who only aggravate my ulcers"[357]). At the editorial meeting in Paris mid-March 1997, Lecomte gave his fellow editors "cause for concern with his tiring so easily and his strange cough."[358] He was

354. Leclant to Van Donzel, November 6, 1995.

355. Lecomte to Van Donzel, December 14, 1995, with enclosed statutes of the association, dated December 21, 1995, whose president was Lecomte himself.

356. Van Donzel to Heinrichs, June 17, 1996; Lecomte to Van Donzel, May 7, 1996 ("La concrétisation prévue des diverses promesses de financement reçues cet hiver est en marche. Nous sommes désormais sûrs de pouvoir continuer").

357. Lecomte to Van Donzel, May 7, 1996.

358. Heinrichs to Van Donzel, April 12, 1997.

admitted to and then sent home from hospital around that time with ulcer medication, having convinced the doctors that this was all he suffered from, but he died from a heart attack four weeks later, on April 17, 1997, at the age of 71. Despite the testiness of the last two years, when in his view the game rules had changed[359] and he had met both bombast and inaction from his French colleagues, Lecomte had relished his editorial task, had striven to elevate and promote the French edition, and had worked tirelessly for that purpose in the years given him. His death was a defining point in the arc of the French edition—from that moment, both its autonomy from and simultaneous publication with the English edition were lost.

3. Ascendancy of the Corporate Dollar, 1997–2006

An impromptu meeting was held in Berlin on May 24 and 25, 1997, to decide on the succession to Lecomte. A list of three names was drafted; "after a third refusal, we agreed that we feel free to proceed as we wish,"[360] Van Donzel summed up, which was understood to mean that the French encyclopedia would then have to do without a dedicated editor. The first invitation was sent on May 26 to Jean-Claude Garcin, historian and professor at the University of Provence, who declined, claiming too many commitments. He recommended in his place Thierry Bianquis and Jean Calmard, the latter coincidentally also the second on the drafted list. However, Lyon, where Bianquis was Professor of Islamic History and Civilization, was seen as an advantage over Paris, where Calmard held a position at the CNRS, and hence Bianquis, at that time sixty-two years old, was approached (fig. 17).[361] He consulted colleagues, who let him know that the invitation was an honor he could not refuse,[362] and Mme. Nurit, who apprised him of the fact that the French ency-

359. "When I accepted the succession in 1992, I did not imagine that five years later it would be made up of the activity of bankruptcy trustee. I think I will have accumulated all possible and impossible misfortune." Lecomte to Van Donzel, April 10, 1997. The encyclopedia work could be a burden on the editors; compare Ménage's postscript to Van Donzel in a letter of May 23, 1975: "Shall I never be free of this incubus? Nothing but confusion & muddle!"

360. Van Donzel to Bosworth, Heinrichs, and Bearman, May 30, 1997.

361. Thierry Bianquis (1935–2014), a historian of early Islamic Syria, was born in Lebanon and did not repatriate to France until after his first decade. After finishing his doctorate in Lyon in 1960, he spent many happy years in the Arab world—in Algeria, and in the capitals Beirut, Cairo, and Damascus. He was researcher at (1968–1971) and director of (1975–1981) the French Institute of Arab Studies at Damascus (IFEAD), returning to Lyon for his thèse d'Etat, after which he took up his professorial post in 1984 until his retirement in 2000. For an obituary, see those by Mathieu Tillier and Abbès Zouache, avabilable online at http://www.academia.edu/11886093; by Mounira Chapoutot-Remadi and Faouzi Mahfoudh, in *al-Qanṭara* 36 (2015), 7–10; and by Peri Bearman, in *al-ʿUsur al-Wusta* 23 (2015), available online at http://islamichistorycommons.org/mem.

362. "Ils m'ont encouragé à l'accepter, le prestige de l'*Encyclopédie de l'Islam* est considérable en France." Bianquis to Bearman and editors, June 13, 1997.

clopedia was in need of 30,000 francs for translation purposes. Undeterred by the latter, Bianquis accepted the invitation to become the new French editor mid-June 1997, and it was ratified by the executive committee as of July 1.[363] The remaining editors grabbed at the opportunity to combine the two administrative offices in Leiden.

Bianquis took over at the top of the letter T, which began volume ten, and the translation bottleneck manifested itself very soon after. Toward the end of October 1997, he met everyone for the first time at an editorial meeting held in Leiden. It was clear from the outset that he was better informed and connected internationally than Lecomte had been, but also that he was a true novice in terms of the responsibilities he had taken on. Bianquis was presented with a list of outstanding translations into French of English articles, sixty-three of which were urgently needed to be included in the first fascicule of the volume (163–164, Tāʾ–Taḥrīr). It was agreed that Van Donzel would take over some of the French translating, to be later corrected by Bianquis, and two weeks later Van Donzel received the first eighteen manuscripts on the list.

This was Bearman's last meeting in her capacity of senior acquisitions editor at Brill; she had resigned effective November 1 but agreed to continue to work for Brill on a paid freelance basis as managing editor for the encyclopedia. Disillusionment with the company had been building in her for some time, but the catalyst for her decision to resign was a disagreement directly involving the encyclopedia. With the advent of Reinout Kasteleijn as director of Brill in 1994, Brill embraced yearly "budgets," detailing expected income from hoped-for publications. These were read as promised income even though the net result was dictated from above (an increase of ten percent on the last year's budget was the norm). For the acquisitions editors, this invariably required an annual increase either in the numbers of books or in the prices of books; real growth was made doubly difficult since any investment expenses came out of the editorial department's budget, decimating its bottom line. The director and Bearman clashed with regard to the digitization of the encyclopedia that would pave the way for what would be an online third edition, as well as a hefty portion of Brill's future profits, which the director insisted should be paid for by a significant increase in the encyclopedia's price. If the encyclopedia had to be seen only as a cash cow, Bearman felt that the costs of digitization should be considered an investment carried by the entire company, which in its entirety would enjoy the income, not costs that the Islamic Studies editorial department had to incur against revenue.

363. Bianquis to Bearman and editors, June 16, 1997; Van Donzel to Bianquis, July 16, 1997. As usual, many of the executive committee members approved the nomination by remaining silent (*qui tacet consentire videtur*)—the only letter in the archive is from Bernard Lewis, but along with the editors, De Bruijn, Ann Lambton, and Robert Mantran are said to have written in the affirmative (Van Donzel to Heinrichs, August 1, 1997).

The encyclopedia was responsible for more than forty percent of Brill's income in 1997; and there was thus little understanding among Brill's executive staff—and little leeway for the editor—when a fascicule disappeared from the year's hoped-for publications. With Bianquis struggling to play catch-up, not yet grasping the complex publication process that ensued upon submission of an article and the feverish work behind the scenes to publish on schedule, the encyclopedia entered rough times for a while, with French publication falling further and further behind. For a long period even after Bearman had left Brill, eyes were rolled on both sides of the Dutch–French divide; and what seemed to Bearman to be patient but interminable explanations in belabored detail were received by Bianquis as condescending preaching.[364]

The next editorial meeting was held in Berlin in May 1998, at the Institut für Semitistik und Arabistik of the Freie Universität. At Van Donzel's instigation, Brill agreed to host a dinner for encyclopedia contributors in and around Berlin as well as for those who were termed "old hands," to "make up" to German scholars for not having had the first German edition updated, which gesture was heartily appreciated even fifty years after the fact. Some of the "old hands"—among whom Josef van Ess, Albert Dietrich, Rudolf Sellheim, Paul Kunitzsch, and Heribert Busse—recalled the decision not to continue the German edition, without any animus:

> I remember clearly the discussions about a possible German edition alongside an English and French one, especially those in the autumn of 1949 during the Deutsche Orientalistentag in Tübingen and in the summer of 1952 in Bonn. Professor Ritter, who had spent the Nazi period over in Istanbul, pleaded for one edition, indeed for an English one given the future and the cost, namely, America—although he also did not warm to this "New World"—and against the backdrop of the nascent, greatly expanded, and improved Turkish version in Istanbul, of whose preparations nobody in Western Europe, in particular Germany, seemed to have any inkling. Professor Posthumus and Mr. Wieder would have liked to have seen a German edition, not least because German was the lingua franca of the Slavic countries.[365]

The Arabist Albert Dietrich recounted:

> I still remember the discussion about a German edition of the EI at one of the first German Orientalist meetings after the war [...] at which time, shortly after

364. One letter from Bianquis ended with "Donc, je n'aime pas que l'on m'écrive comme à un bébé." Bianquis to Bearman, December 4, 1997.

365. Sellheim to Van Donzel, April 22, 1998. Rudolf Sellheim (1928–2013) was Professor of Oriental Studies at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität in Frankfurt am Main from 1956–1995, and Ritter's successor as editor of *Oriens* from 1967–2001. For an obituary, see that by Gerhard Endress, in *Oriens* 42 (2014), 1–19.

> the war, German participation would not have been viable for financial reasons. And since Orientalists have always been accustomed to polyglossia, we have, if a little sadly, come to terms with the adopted system. Little known is that an unexpected advocacy for a German edition came, by the way, from older Russian Orientalists, who had learned German at school as a second language.[366]

The success of the German dinner and the nearing of the conclusion of the encyclopedia prompted dinners as well on the occasion of editorial meetings in France (Tournus, 1999), the USA (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), and England (Oxford, 2004).

At a certain point in time, Van Donzel began sending remunerations for encyclopedia articles as cash in the mail.[367] Although never inordinately large sums of money—as mentioned earlier, the English encyclopedia increased its payment from ten to fifteen guilders per column in 1995 only when it appeared that the French had long been "overpaying" the Francophone authors—many first-time contributors were nevertheless surprised to open their envelopes and encounter the colorful Dutch bills, which looked to Americans a lot like funny money. At an even later date, Van Donzel began sending dollars to Americans and pounds to the British, but for a time, many authors had to save up their hard earned payment for the rare trip to the Netherlands or risk losing most of it to the bank's exchange commission.

Despite the editorial process not being transparent—the actual allocation of articles took place ad hoc during the editorial meeting as the editors considered the scholars who came to mind; if there was more than one who was equally expert in the topic, the decision was based sometimes on unsteadfast criteria, such as reliability—and the choice of entries still relying for the most part on the list that Samuel Stern drafted in 1951,[368] the encyclopedia archive is remarkably devoid of letters from authors with questions about or advice for the encyclopedia, in positive or negative sense. There is some written feedback from fellow scholars that outlined the encyclopedia's failings in their field of choice, as bemoaned, for example, with regard to post-classical Iran and to art, or to the lack of

366. Dietrich to Van Donzel, no date. The philologist Albert Dietrich (1912–2015), who died at the advanced age of one hundred and three, was a student of Schaade, under whom he earned his doctorate in 1937. He taught at Göttingen University until his retirement in 1981, occupying himself with publishing on Islamic medicine and pharmacology. For a tribute, see that by Tilman Nagel, on the Göttingen University website, www.uni-goettingen.de (search for Nachruf Albert Dietriech).

367. The standard letter of May 1998 that accompanied the bills read, "In order to avoid the exceedingly high costs charged by the bank for remitting remunerations for EI2 articles, it seems advisable to send the payment for contributions by letter. In this way bank charges are possibly avoided."

368. Stern's ultimate list was divided into five soft-cover (grey) books, comprising A–C, D–I, J–M, N–Z, and Suppl. entries, already foreseen of four columns, one with the preprinted entry and three following for notes. See figures 18 and 19 for a page and cover from one of Pellat's and Schacht's Grey Books respectively. The Grey Books were added to, also ad hoc, as new research emerged or something was discovered missing in time.

coverage of contemporary times,[369] but the feedback must either have been mostly reserved for verbal transmission or it was altogether restrained. The reviews as well were generally limited to detailing the articles that had appeared in the fascicule or volume under review.[370] All of the listed failings were valid, in particular the complaint of omission of other-language bibliography, although often publications that were pointed out as missing—frequently the letter-writer's own—had been published later than submission of the article. During the last fifteen years of the second edition, with the publisher breathing down their necks, it was unrealistic for the editors to solicit advice on each article from a network of specialists, certainly without being able to offer any proper remuneration. The idealistic Bianquis found this out fairly quickly to his dismay:

> A number of times I have sought help from French researchers to reread the entries that are the most difficult for me, linguistics and poetry, the Indian and Iranian worlds, Berber and African worlds, world of the Turks, Ottoman and Asian. But, for the most part, these researchers prefer to devote themselves to books, collective publications or specialized colloquia, addressing current questions of analysis and methodology, works that are regarded by official evaluating bodies as more worthy of research than the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, wrongly known as a popular work intended for the large public, using an outdated approach, philology, event-driven history (*histoire événementielle*), history of religion, from the perspective of the 19th century.[371]

The tradition of confidence in the author's expertise still reigned supreme, despite there having survived obvious instances when the policy of minimal interference should have been shelved.

In August 1998 Van Donzel suffered a thrombosis in his right eye, the one that had not been affected from his stay in Ethiopia in the 1960s. From one day to the next he was forced to read with special glasses and a magnifying glass, no longer able to drive or bike. The good news was that for a time his weak left eye strengthened to thirty percent vi-

369. Rudi Matthee to Editors, March 7, 1996 (noting the lacunae of a section in Shahbandar dealing with the Persian context and omission of an entry on the Safavid Shah Ṣafī); Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom to Heinrichs, July 13, 1991 (regretting the omission of separate articles on dynastic patronage, such as past entries on Fatimid Art and on Ilkhanid Art, as well as of art-historical information in entries on rulers and sites); email Frank Mermier to Bianquis, August 12, 1998 (noting the omission of any information concerning contemporary Sanaa). Matthee was asked to write the Shahbandar section, which then appeared in the Supplement, and with regard to the Islamic art lacunae, Heinrichs felt that the authors had a point and named them his advisors. As regards the latter complaint, the encyclopedia was averse to covering the post-Ottoman age geographically and culturally, as it was considered less "Islamic" than "contemporary politics," although exceptions did arise, or slip through.

370. See, e.g., the regularly appearing ones by D. Sourdel in *Arabica*, e.g., 6 (1959), 223, and by B. Spuler in *Der Islam*, e.g., 64 (1987), 111–12.

371. Bianquis to his fellow-editors, September 23, 1999.

sion, so that he was able to continue his work, although in straitened circumstances; the bad news was that the right eye never regained its sight and the left eye petered out as well, leaving him with approximately five percent vision by the time of the encyclopedia's conclusion. The attack prompted him to propose that Bearman be appointed editor, now that she was rid of her formal Brill ties, to assist and succeed him if necessary. The other editors agreed and in May 1999 the proposal made its way to the executive committee, which in typical *qui tacet* fashion—Hans de Bruijn and Robert Mantran answered affirmatively in writing—also backed it. Her appointment went into effect June 1, 1999.

The French specter raised its head again in November 1998 when Van Donzel found out that the discrepancy in paying authors had somehow been reinstated. The French office was now paying 60 francs per column to the Leiden equivalent of 45, a piece of unwelcome news that offset the earlier surprise announcement that John A. Haywood, who had contributed twenty-nine articles to the second edition, had bequeathed his royalty payments to the encyclopedia.[372] As Secretary-General and thus in charge of and concerned with the financial viability of the encyclopedia, Van Donzel was dismayed at learning that the French autonomy, on which the French set such score, was again overplaying its hand.[373] It also dawned on him that he had no knowledge of the amount of subsidies the French edition was receiving from two of the three institutions acknowledged on each French fascicule. The French money was intended to pay for translations, but if it was being used to pay the authors, and at a higher rate, so that the money Van Donzel was sending to the French office from other European subsidies went toward translations, this was unacceptable to him. Van Donzel decided to take over the French office's responsibility to pay authors. The French office was effectively shut down as of fascicule 169-170, the first to appear in 1999.

The encyclopedia was appearing apace and at the start of 1999 the end was in sight—it would take only ten more fascicules to complete the encyclopedia proper. The prospect of a publishing black hole had earlier spurred Brill to begin thinking up new income sources based on the encyclopedia. One of these was a CD-ROM of the—still incomplete—second edition, using the digitized text underlying the planned online third edition. In thrall now to the potential of the CD-ROM as income as well as security for continued subscriptions to the third edition—the idea being that the transition to an online third

372. Adams & Remers Soliciters to Encyclopedia of Islam, attn. Van Donzel, September 2, 1998. John Alfred Haywood, a Reader at the University of Durham, wrote on Urdu literature and lexicography, for the most part. His royalty payments were from other publications than the encyclopedia, which famously did not pay anyone royalties. The bequeathed amount, which was not large but nevertheless appreciated, was not disclosed in the letter.

373. "Petit à petit j'ai eu l'impression qu'à Paris une sorte de bureau indépendent était en train de se former." Van Donzel to Bianquis, January 5, 1999. Although Heinrichs and Bianquis are on record as supporting the higher rate, Van Donzel thought it better to remain thrifty. Van Donzel to Heinrichs, January 6, 1999.

edition would be easier if customers were already accustomed to the nonprint medium—and without a trusted liaison to the editors, Brill turned its gaze inward and the CD-ROM took center stage. The editors were not consulted, which exacerbated relations between them and the publisher. A letter under Van Donzel's signature was sent to the director Reinout Kasteleijn, outlining their concerns:

> The Editorial Committee [...] recently held an extraordinary meeting in Manchester. One of the topics discussed there was the Committee's concern with the CD-ROM edition of the Encyclopaedia.
>
> It appeared that each Editor, independent of the others, had been approached by scholars with questions about the CD-ROM. Everyone felt uncomfortable with these questions, as none of the Editors has been kept informed of developments and therefore actually knows little of substance of the product.
>
> It was felt that the CD-ROM is leading a life of its own, whereas those who are responsible for its contents, and indeed whose names are indelibly linked with the contents, are left in the dark. The question of the timeliness of the CD-ROM was also brought up.
>
> The ensuing discussion uncovered the following specific misgivings.
>
> 1. The Editorial Committee of the Encyclopaedia has had no say in the whole decision-making process. The fact that the CD-ROM edition will nevertheless appear under their names is a matter of grave concern.
>
> 2. Questions with regard to the improvement of the text have not been raised. The Editors are in agreement that there is little point to issuing a new edition if there is no improvement on the old, of which e.g. the inclusion of articles erroneously published twice or even thrice is an example.
>
> 3. The second edition of the Encyclopaedia is still incomplete and therefore an edition on CD-ROM would seem premature.
>
> 4. The contributors to the second edition have always been paid for their work by the Editors, becoming thus in effect employees of the Editors; for the privilege of re-using their work in such a medium as the CD-ROM, the contributors should now receive payment from the Publisher.[374]

374. This particular topic had actually been one of (unresolved) discussion between Van Donzel and Brill's acquisitions editor for Asian Studies, Albert Hoffstädt, who took over the encyclopedia when Bearman left; according to Hoffstädt, a draft of a letter to contributors assigning formal copyright to Brill had adopted Van Donzel's suggestions made in early May but was never approved by Van Donzel. Although Brill insisted that the copyright of the printed edition belonged to Brill—a point of contention between the publisher and Van Donzel, from which the other editors mostly abstained—it recognized that reuse of the material required formal assignment. Hoffstädt's argument that it was in the editors' interest that the information in the encyclopedia not be lost, but remain updatable via a third edition, as well as his claim that the CD-ROM would not be immediately profitable, were little persuasive. Albert Hoffstädt to Van Donzel, April 23 and August 24, 1998.

> 5. The planning and execution of the CD-ROM edition completely overrides that of the second edition, ignoring the primary importance of the work the Editors are performing in order to complete the Encyclopaedia within the time schedule set by Brill.
>
> The following example will illustrate this last point: in advertisements for the CD-ROM edition, the updates of the CD-ROM, Volumes 1–10 and 1–11 respectively, are being announced for the years 2000 and 2001. Volume 10, however, will only be completed as of mid-2000, at which moment none of the three indexes, which are also being advertised as components of the CD-ROM (as yet without consultation with their respective compilers), will have been prepared. Volume 11, announced as complete by 2001, will in actual fact only be half completed by late 2001.[375]

The answer from Brill—that a general idea of the CD-ROM had been relayed to the editors and that they were being spared the excessive "technical character" of the CD-ROM intentionally[376]—did not appease; the gulf between the two parties widened as the editors felt the lack of a trusted partner and Brill became even more intent on the moneymaking angle of the encyclopedia.

How intent became clear when Bosworth was approached by the new Islamic Studies acquisitions editor with two proposals: one was for a new *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* and the other for a volume on Central Asia, both to be made up of articles from the second edition.[377] The first, which had been raised at a dinner with the editors a month earlier, but was not stymied by their lack of enthusiasm, required that contributors of relevant articles (still to be decided) be asked to send in their articles by April 1, 1999—three months from the date of the proposal—"so that the whole book could be put into immediate production and published by the end of 1999"; and the second—presumably conceived specifically and solely to cash in on the market trend—was seemingly unaware that of the five newly independent Central Asian Republics, only the article on Tajikistan had been published as of that date.

Although these two half-baked projects were nipped in the bud, the publishing demands of the final years were all but easy. Because Brill's expected turnover levels necessitated three fascicules of each language edition to appear each year, the strict publishing schedule ensured that the French edition was never able to catch up to the English,

375. Van Donzel to Kasteleijn, January 17, 1999.

376. Kasteleijn to Van Donzel, February 8, 1999.

377. Email Bosworth to Van Donzel, Bearman, Bianquis, and Heinrichs, January 10, 1999, referring to a letter he had received from Bearman's successor at Brill, dated December 24, 1998. Bosworth replied to the proposal on January 16, 1999. He gave a preview of his answer to Bearman in a fax on the same date: "Having canvassed views, I am now going to compose replies to Brill's two proposals. As Emeri says, they won't like my reply, but they need to be told that their efforts are NOT ON!"

which severely hampered a smooth process of editing and translating articles. Various new hurdles appeared in its wake, such as Bosworth having to edit French articles because they were desperately needed for the English fascicule and their then sped-up translations into English being published without author approval. Nobody was happy about this, nor was anyone surprised when Bianquis shot off angry emails once he got wind of it. To assist in easing the bottleneck in Lyon that was only accelerating in pace since Lecomte's death, in early 1999 Brill independently hired a young French woman for ten hours a month to help Bianquis as he struggled with the reams of paper alongside his university responsibilities. The enormity of the task at hand and perhaps the language in which her instructions from Brill were framed ("Discussions between the editors finds place regularly and on an absolutely friendly and equal basis, but in times of deadline hardship timely delivery to the publisher can break these laws") likely did not facilitate matters. The bottleneck continued unabated and a squabble erupted when Brill wished to terminate the arrangement.

There were two primary explanations for the persistent bottleneck of the French edition, both colliding in the person of Bianquis. The one was the sheer amount of work that was involved, all funneling through Bianquis himself;[378] the other was the fastidiousness he brought to the project—he did not suffer the less-than-brilliant article gladly. The remaining editors, maneuvering between the diametrically opposing characters of Brill and Bianquis on the subject of quantity versus quality, were torn between acknowledgment of his overworked state, appreciation of his dedication, and annoyance at the fix they were in, the three jostling for top position. When Brill wanted the editorial board to oust him as French editor, however, its refusal was unanimous. Brill's proposed alternatives—to use only a French translator or, if need be, appoint a new French colleague as co-editor—were neither desirable nor sustainable at this late stage.

Financially, at least, the encyclopedia had entered calm waters. The financial report for 1999 sent by Van Donzel to Heinrichs listed a total of $24,300 expended, divided among contributors ($7,000), translators ($8,300), and editors ($9,000: $3,000 each to Leiden, Manchester, and Lyon). To be added were any costs that Heinrichs had incurred that year.[379] The money to pay the expenses came from the NEH, the British Academy, two Dutch sources (ƒ1,000 from the Royal Academy and ƒ8,000 from the Oriental Institute), a division of UNESCO ($3,000 from the Conseil International de la Philosophie et

378. "Le problème n'est pas la traduction mais ma capacité à tout relire assez vite, textes produits par des Français à éditer, textes traduits de l'anglais à comparer aux originaux." Bianquis to Van Donzel, May 9, 2000.

379. Bearman's costs, including those of travel for the encyclopedia, were paid for by Brill, as she continued in the role of managing editor even after her appointment as editor. The managing editor role meant that Bearman took care of the encyclopedia from manuscript to camera-ready copy. Brill only entered the picture at the printing stage.

des Sciences Humaines), and four French sources: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Agence de Coopération Culturelle et Technique et de ses États membres, Centre National du Livre, and Université Lumière Lyon 2. According to Bianquis, in a letter of January 21, 2000, the translator had been paid by funds received from the Caisse National des Lettres and from CNRS. The UNESCO funds had been solicited by Van Donzel for French translations, but "it does not seem that we will need this money for that purpose, for I understand that the French are not stepping up their activities."[380] As these funds came with "no strings attached" other than acknowledgment on the cover, the encyclopedia gratefully used them to cover general expenses. In 1999 three English fascicules and one French fascicule appeared.

Confirmation of the last NEH instalment was received in 2002 and the editors breathed a sigh of relief, chiefly Van Donzel, who had borne the brunt of the financial headache some thirty-seven years, and Heinrichs, who no longer had to fill in the lengthy triennial NEH application. The editors and Brill resigned themselves to the later and slower publication of the French fascicules, although the intervening years were filled with sputtering from both sides in reaction to the other's assumptions. What one party considered minor, the other considered major. The following email exchange between Hoffstädt and Bearman over two days in December 1999 about fascicule publication in 2000 and where to end volume ten is exemplary for the back and forth and minute detail that was all too common:

> AH to PB, December 10, 1999: I'm sending you the dates for the fascicules as they were given in the budget. Please look them over carefully. As you see, I didn't budget anything extra for French. Can you agree with them? Note especially the same months of publication. I'm sending the ISBNs as well. [Re. the months for English and French fascicules] we want to bring out the English volume with the last English fascicule, in the first half of 2000. You'll remember the problem ... is this feasible, do you think?
>
> PB to AH, December 10, 1999: Problem. "Note especially the same months of publication." That's impossible. French fascicules appear later. This happened when it became clear that publishing six fascicules in a year wasn't feasible if they had to be published at the same time. Back in 1991 or so. I simply don't have the time to work on them together and a lot of coordination has to happen between the two. And I already gave different dates to Bianquis (you got them as well, they were sent October 14, 1999). We won't make March at all with the deadlines I gave him for the next fascicule. He would have had to have most of it done by September already. And because he has such a backlog (at the moment [...] he's correcting the galleys—which also means incorporating the author's corrections and those of the English fascicule—he's supposed to send them as

380. Van Donzel to Heinrichs, dated January 2000.

of January 1. Then I usually have a month's work to get it in order and I need at least three months to get the page proofs, etc. ready to print), he'll never be able to start, for example, on the second fascicule already. [...]

[Re. the English fascicules], the last fascicule always appears in October [not September]. I'm keeping that. [...]

[Re. the French fascicules], no. The dates for the French fascicules were: May, August, December. I'm sorry. I didn't have any reason to think that it would be any different next year. And, as explained above, everything is now sort of balanced—can't it stay that way? "We want to bring out the English volume with the last English fascicule, in the first half of 2000. You'll remember the problem..." The last fascicule appears in the fall. Or do you mean the last, eighth fascicule of the volume? [...] In any case, volume X is different. It turns out, as it happens, that U, the letter, not your majesty,[381] doesn't completely fit in the eighth fascicule but takes up about another half-fascicule. I was planning to split the last fascicule (the October fascicule) into two, of which about a half would still be volume X and the rest of the 112 pp. volume XI. The bound volume X will then comprise the complete letters T and U. I probably don't have to say that this is the wish of the Editors.

AH to PB, December 13, 1999: Agreed with your changes for the French fascicules. We were thinking that the one language didn't have to wait on the other this time, but didn't take the amount of work you had enough into consideration. Especially since I now know how much work you have on the French. Stupid, probably. Although I have to say that you [editors] gave us the impression you were going to try hard to get an extra French half-fascicule and I'm wondering, reading your email, when that extra French (half?) fascicule is now supposed to appear if the last one comes in December. I get that you can't give me a guarantee FOR THAT, especially since you're sitting sweating and swearing over Bianquis's packages, but it explains a bit why we were hoping for another publication schedule. Will you keep me posted if you see light in the tunnel that is Bianquis's contribution? Are you even considering an extra French fascicule? Then the possible publication of the English volume in June. It seems to me to be a choice between two interests: the elegance of publishing the rest of the T and the "whole" U in one volume, against Brill's interests to have a balanced annual budget. If I stare at the other nine volumes, I see that only volumes I and II closed at the end of a letter; the rest break off somewhere. Of course, I can imagine the temptation, even the desire, to round off a volume nicely, certainly when the end of a letter is so close, but I really want to press upon you [editors] to give preference to Brill's interests here. IF, at least, you don't get the U out

381. This is an attempt at lightening the tone as the formal pronoun for "you" in Dutch—like *vous* in French, *Sie* in German—is *U*.

> in June. I understand that it isn't work that is done with a click of a button. Try also to understand that we tried long and hard to not have to ask you about that volume in June, and put ourselves in contortions to get this budget out (which was only finished in December and so its implications were assessed very late).

The English tenth volume did appear in June 2000, with an extra 72 pages added to the final, eighth, fascicule. Countless similar emails, straining to be pleasant in the face of competing priorities, continued to fly across the ocean until finally, including a volume of supplementary articles, the English edition was completed in 2004, the French in 2006. Both editions comprised twelve volumes of 12,691 and 13,042 pages respectively (see figs. 1 and 2 for the encyclopedia page); a thirteenth volume, made up of the three indexes (see appendix three), was published in 2009.

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The final years of the second edition were darkened for the editors by fatigue, exacerbated by the worsened dealings with the publisher, whose position was informed by the income that the encyclopedia generated. Heinrichs summed it up in his inimitable way when he wrote,

> Let's get through the rest of the EI2 work as quickly as possible and with as little friction as possible. Which may not be easy, given the shocking callousness that we seem to encounter ever more often on their part. (Lewis Carroll foresaw it in the "Jabberwocky": "Twas brillig (!!) and the slithy toves did gyre and gimble in the wabe," which hitherto defied interpretation, but with its reference now known makes perfect sense. "Slithy" indeed!).[382]

Despite this, none of the editors would have said that regret played any role at all. Being an editor of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* was an absolute privilege. The paradox of academe, as hard and corporate a profession as any other, is that it harbors a hidden side of hours spent in unpaid work, whether in writing, vetting, or editing. This hidden side underpinned and sometimes overwhelmed the massive undertaking that was the encyclopedia, yet for the editors—some at work on it for decades—and contributors, whose remuneration was purely a symbolic gesture of goodwill, the overarching result of a reference work that would educate generations of scholars was the ultimate reward.

The completion of the second edition marked the end of an era. The encyclopedia was produced during a century and more in which Islamic Studies matured, faced up to its colonialist and orientalist mantle, and moved from textual and philological study to cultural and social-scientific analysis.[383] An era ended also with Europe's shift from the forerunner of academic enterprise, advancing a dream of cooperation and synergy, to

382. Heinrichs to Van Donzel, December 26, 2001.

383. For an explanation of the times in which the encyclopedia was produced, see chapter four.

the laggard—a continent that succumbed to a divisive nationalism igniting two world wars, its scholarly drive and accomplishments overtaken by the United States, which funded scholarship on an un-European scale and encouraged evolving scholarly practice. The publishing industry as well broke through the barriers of print, after a century of adaptation within its confines. A third edition of the encyclopedia, which began appearing as the second edition ended, could not, as its predecessors had done, deny pride of place to current scholarship, to contemporary issues, and to the brave new cyber world.

Chapter Three
The Publisher and the Process

1. A Brief History of E. J. Brill

The Dutch city of Leiden at the juncture of the Old and the New Rhine was an early recruit to the European printing industry. Its first printer can be traced to 1484, when Henrik Henriksz. reprinted Jan van Naaldwijk's *Chronijk van Hollant, Zeelant enz.*, published six years earlier in Gouda.[1] One hundred years later, soon after its establishment in 1575, Leiden University—the first in the Netherlands—appointed the renowned printer from Antwerp, Christophe Plantin (in Dutch, Plantijn), as its third university printer; and the link with E. J. Brill, still in a distant future, was forged.[2]

Likewise, Leiden University's academic link with oriental languages has deep roots, which intertwine as well with the printing industry.[3] The "very core and kernel of Leiden

1. The original publication of the chronicle, in 1478, was only twenty-three years after the very first printed book, the Gutenberg Bible. Th. Folkers, "De geschiedenis van de oostersche boekdrukkerij te Leiden," *Cultureel Indië* 3 (1941), 53 (where the printer's first name is mistakenly given as Hendrik). See also André Bouwman et al., *Stad van boeken: Handschrift en druk in Leiden, 1260–2000* (Leiden, 2008), 69 (where the printer's name is given in the old style, Heynrick Heynricxzoon, and the printing year as 1483); P. Nijhoff, "Losse schetsen uit de geschiedenis der boeken," in *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van den nederlandschen boekhandel* (Amsterdam, 1892–1895), 5:186. For Jan van Naaldwijk (fl. fifteenth century), a Dutch nobleman who wrote this chronicle in 1478, see A. J. van der Aa, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden* (Haarlem, 1868), 13:3–6, accessible online at www.dbnl.org.

2. See Willem Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met dame*, vol. 1: *Het bolwerk van de vrijheid: De Leidse universiteit 1575–1672* (Amsterdam, 2000), 97; E. van Gulik, "Drukkers en geleerden: De Leidse Officina Plantiniana (1583–1619)," in *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century: An Exchange of Learning*, ed. Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes (Leiden, 1975), 367; Colin Clair, *Christopher Plantin* (London, 1960), 152; Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses: A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp in Two Volumes* (Amsterdam, 1969), esp. 1:105–13. For a list of university printers and the dates of their appointment up to 1812, see Ronald Sluijter, *'Tot ciraet, vermeerderinge ende heerlyckmaeckinge der universiteyt': Bestuur, instellingen, personeel en financiën van de Leidse universiteit 1575–1812* (Hilversum, 2004), 291–92.

3. For the study of Arabic and other Semitic languages in the Netherlands, see W. C. M. Juynboll,

University" was the theology faculty, which educated students for ministry service;[4] their need for Semitic languages to aid in Bible studies and, a little later, the establishment of the Dutch East India Company and the profitable trade with the East intensified the demand for oriental languages. Leiden University's foray into oriental studies began with the successor to Plantijn, his son-in-law, Franciscus Raphelengius, who became university printer and Professor of Hebrew in 1586.[5] In addition to Hebrew, Raphelengius taught himself Arabic, using the scant sources available to him, such as a Latin–Arabic glossary from the eleventh century.[6] To print Arabic for his own dictionary (Arabic–Latin, published posthumously), he designed his own type, eschewing—but modeling his after—the existing one of the Medici Press.[7] The first Professor of Arabic at Leiden University was Thomas Erpenius, appointed in 1613,[8] who began publishing with Raphelengius's sons,

"Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars van het Arabisch in Nederland" (Ph.D. diss., Leiden University, 1931); Nat, *De studie van de oostersche talen in Nederland*, 1929. As Nat points out (p. 1), the term "oriental languages" signified Semitic languages until the latter half of the eighteenth century.

4. Arthur Eyffinger, "Authority vs. Authenticity: The Leiden Debate on Bible and Hebrew (1575–1650)," in *Hebraic Aspects of the Renaissance: Sources and Encounters*, ed. I. Zinguer et al. (Leiden, 2011), 116–35, at 118.

5. For Franciscus Raphelengius (1539–1597), see Alastair Hamilton, "Franciscus Raphelengius, the Hebraist and His Manuscripts," *De Gulden Passer* 68 (1990), 105–17; Juynboll, "Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars," esp. 36–45; Arnoud Vrolijk and Richard van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands: A Short History in Portraits, 1580–1950* (Leiden, 2014), 17–20.

6. Juynboll, "Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars," 39. For a listing of other original materials at Raphelengius's disposal, p. 43.

7. Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies*, 17; Ernst Braches, "Raphelengius's Naschi and Maghribi: Some Reflections on the Origin of Arabic Typography in the Low Countries," *Quaerendo* 5 (1975), 235–45. Although rare, there are a number of extant copies of Raphelengius's dictionary, *Lexicon arabicum* (Leiden, 1613), including one housed in Houghton Library, Harvard University, bound together with Erpenius's *Grammatica*. For a look at Raphelengius's cut type, see the eight-page *Specimen charactervm arabicorvm officinae Plantinianae Franc. Raphelengij* ([Leiden], 1595); facsimile edition accessible online at http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/files/Witkam-1997-Arabic-type-Specimen.pdf. For a display of all Arabic typefaces of the seventeenth century, see Rijk Smitskamp, *Philologia Orientalis: A Description of Books Illustrating the Study and Printing of Oriental Languages in 16th- and 17th-Century Europe* (Leiden, 1976), 206. Raphelengius's type, in turn, was found "too coarse, and their size made printing too expensive" a few years later by Erpenius. Smitskamp, *Philologia Orientalis*, 74 (84d).

8. Thomas van Erpe (Erpenius, 1584–1624), for whom, see Juynboll, "Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars," esp. 59–118; Robert Jones, "Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe (1505–1624)" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1988); Alastair Hamilton, *William Bedwell, the Arabist, 1563–1632* (Leiden, 1985), ch. 2. The Leiden professorial appointment in Arabic language was very early: cf. the establishment of Chairs of Arabic at Cambridge and Oxford in 1632 and 1636 respectively. Erpenius died of the plague, just forty years of age. His collection of Arabic manuscripts forms the basis of the Cambridge University Library—for a history of these manuscripts, and how they ended up in Cambridge and not Leiden, see J. C. T. Oates, "The Manuscripts of Thomas Erpenius," available at http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/reference/ (under Oates).

the successors to their father's printing business upon his death in 1597. Erpenius published his *Grammatica arabica* with them in 1613, but when they stopped printing Arabic script, he set up a printing office in his own home.[9] The last publication to issue from his printing business was his text edition of Ibn al-ʿAmīd's *Taʾrīkh al-muslimīn* (Historia Saracenica) in 1625.[10] Erpenius did not work in a void at Leiden; his colleagues included the great classicist Joseph Scaliger, whose collection of oriental manuscripts and books, including many in Arabic, formed the basis of the Leiden University Library's Middle Eastern collection.[11] Two renowned students were Jacob Golius, his successor to the chair of Arabic,[12] and Lodewijk de Dieu, an alumnus of the famed theology faculty, who studied Hebrew, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Arabic with Erpenius and Golius and published the first Persian grammar, in Latin, to appear in Europe.[13]

The publishing company E. J. Brill took its name from Evert Jan Brill, but the firm itself goes back to the Luchtmans, a line of booksellers and publishers in Leiden from 1683.[14] Although binding loose printed sheets was a service that the Luchtmans offered, a printing operation would only be added to the business when Evert Jan's father, Johannes Brill, rose from administrator at Luchtmans to managing director in 1812 and added his print shop. In 1848, the business was sold in its entirety to Evert Jan, who had begun working for his father in 1829, at the young age of seventeen. He promptly set forth under his own name, sold off what he could of the entire holdings of unsold Luchtmans books,[15] and began anew as a publisher, printer, bookseller, and antiquarian—primarily

9. Smitskamp, *Philologia Orientalis*, 74–75 (84e–k); Jones, "Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe," 209.

10. Smitskamp, *Philologia Orientalis*, 72 (84a).

11. For Scaliger (1540–1609), see Juynboll, "Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars," 45–51; Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies*, 20–27; for his collection, Elfriede Hulshoff Pol, "The Library," in *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century: An Exchange of Learning*, ed. Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes (Leiden, 1975), 426–29.

12. For Golius (1596–1667), see *EIr*, s.v. (J. T. P. de Bruijn); Jan Just Witkam, *Jacobus Golius (1596–1667) en zijn handschriften*, Oosters Genootschap in Nederland, 10 (Leiden, 1980), accessible online at http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/files/Witkam-1980-Golius-Handschriften.pdf.

13. For Lodewijk de Dieu (1590–1642), see *EIr* 7 (J. T. P. de Bruijn).

14. A link between the first generation of Luchtmans and Plantijn is made through the wife of Jordaan Luchtmans, the founder, who was Plantijn's great-granddaughter. The historical account here is limited to a very broad outline before the publisher's dealings with the encyclopedia. For a detailed look at the early years, until Luchtmans was sold to Evert Jan Brill, see *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van den nederlandschen boekhandel*, vol. 6 (Amsterdam, 1893), 602–39; for an account of the forty years following the sale, see W. P. Wolters, "The Oldest Bookselling Firm in Europe," *Trübner's American, European and Oriental Record*, n.s. 4, 9–10 (1883), 98–100. For the entire history of the publishing company, see Brill's own commemorative publication on the occasion of its 325th year, Van der Veen, *Brill: 325 jaar uitgeven*; for a report on the seventy-fifth anniversary of E. J. Brill, in 1923, with a focus on the early years, see *Nieuwsblad voor den boekhandel* 90,52 (June 29, 1923), 631–34.

15. According to Van der Veen (*Brill: 325 jaar uitgeven*, 45), there were four separate auctions between October 1848 and April 1850. An account of the sale of Luchtmans to E. J. Brill in *Bijdragen tot de geschie-*

of orientalia and Dutch language and literature, according to De Goeje.[16] Having secured the position of university printer in 1853, Evert Jan could count on being the preferred publisher of Leiden scholars; as a display of his expertise, "in 1855 [he] printed the Lord's Prayer in fourteen languages, using all of the exotic fonts he had at his disposal—Hebrew, Aramaic,[17] Samaritan, Sanskrit, Coptic, Syriac, Arabic, Persian, Tartar [*sic*], Turkish, Javanese, Malay, and Greek, some of them in several variants."[18] The great Leiden Semitists Reinhart Dozy (d. 1883), Abraham Kuenen (d. 1891), and, of course, Michaël Jan de Goeje regularly published with him. By the time William Robertson Smith launched his proposal for an Oriental encyclopedia, in 1892, the company had already long lost its eponym, but it had astutely captured the market for Near Eastern studies.

Upon Evert Jan's death in 1871, the business was bought by Adriaan van Oordt, who brought in an old friend, Frans de Stoppelaar, to be his associate. Both knew next to nothing about publishing, but made up in enthusiasm and competence what they lacked in experience.[19] Van Oordt bought E. J. Brill seemingly on a whim—having completed his

denis van den nederlandschen boekhandel (6:635) mentions only two auctions, one in August 1849: "[It was] a remarkable event, [for itself] also but primarily because of the classical stamp, to which people in this country were no longer accustomed in the middle of the nineteenth century. That which seldom or never happens with our auctions took place: foreign firms, German and French, came to make bids for the sale of so many well-known Latin books, which everyone had thought long out of print, but which appeared in this old, rich collection as if new." Pp. 636–37 list some of the works and authors; and on p. 638 is a brief description of the second auction, in November 1949, which is presented as the last ("Er was iets diep weemoedigs in, toen in november 1949 de laatste hamerklop van deze beide auctiën viel en daarmede de grijze, eerwaardige firma, wat haar naam betreft, als begraven was.").

16. M. J. de Goeje, "Levensbericht van F. de Stoppelaar," in *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde, 1906* (Leiden, 1906), 188, accessible online at www.dbnl.org. Renowned Arabist at Leiden and paramount for the encyclopedia's genesis, as outlined in chapter one, above, De Goeje described Evert Jan as "possess[ing] ambition, talent, and an enterprising spirit and although he did not maneuver his business into first place, he secured a very honorable second place for it." For facsimile copies of the two announcements made at the time of the firm's sale to Evert Jan, see the 1983 catalogue that accompanied an exhibition in the Municipal Archives, Leiden, on the occasion of Brill's 300th year, *Luchtmans & Brill: Driehonderd jaar uitgevers en drukkers in Leiden 1683–1983* (Leiden, 1983).

17. In the *Specimen* itself, the language is called Chaldean.

18. Van der Veen, *Brill: 325 jaar uitgeven*, 51, who only lists these thirteen languages; the fourteenth is the Sahidic dialect of Coptic, which follows the Coptic entry. See also the description of the *Specimen* (p. 69) in Brill's 1983 commemorative exhibition catalogue (n16, above), which adds that this display of types was not unique to E. J. Brill, but that he was the first to combine printing and publishing at one address.

19. Van der Veen, *Brill: 325 jaar uitgeven*, 56. For Frans de Stoppelaar (1841–1906), see the obituary notice by De Goeje, "Levensbericht van F. de Stoppelaar" (n16, above); by Zuidema, in *Nieuw nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek* (Leiden, 1911–1937), 2:1382–83, accessible online at www.inghist.nl/retroboeken/nnbw (s.n. Stoppelaar); Jan Brugman, in *Tuta sub aegide Pallas*, 35–36. For Adriaan P. M. van Oordt (1840–1903), see the obituary notice in *Jaarboekje voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde van Leiden en Rijnland* 2 (1905); for the story of Van Oordt's impulsive purchase, see *Nieuwsblad voor den boekhandel* 94,4 (1927),

doctoral thesis in theology, he discovered that a German scholar had recently earned his doctorate on the very same subject; discouraged, he began studying law, but after the first semester changed direction altogether when E. J. Brill was offered for sale. No less impulsive, De Stoppelaar left a secure job teaching Dutch at a secondary school in Deventer—having gone into pedagogy after an accident spoiled his military ambitions—and he joined Van Oordt in the firm.[20] Despite their inexperience, the business flourished, and as of 1881, De Stoppelaar became co-owner. Being the more outgoing of the two, De Stoppelaar was the public face of the business and he courted and formed close relationships with scholars in Leiden and abroad.[21] In 1896 E. J. Brill sold off its auction and most of its antiquarian business, keeping the trade in old orientalia for its own antiquarian bookshop, and became a public limited company. At the Eighth Orientalist Congress held in Stockholm and Christiania in 1889, the Swedish Royal Order of Vasa was conferred upon the publishing house—the honor no less meaningful for the fact that medals at the Congress were strewn in abundance[22]—after which De Stoppelaar was awarded the order of Officier de l'Académie Française; in 1883 De Stoppelaar had been honored with the Ridderkruis (knight's cross) of the Royal Order of the Dutch Lion.[23]

40. Though one would have expected an acknowledgment, Evert Jan's death and the transition to new ownership were left unmentioned in De Goeje's letters of 1871 and 1872 to his good friend Nöldeke.

20. De Goeje, "Levensbericht van F. de Stoppelaar," 188–89.

21. An obituary notice by the Indologist and Professor of Javanese at Leiden A(lbert) C. Vreede (*Jaarboekje voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde van Leiden en Rijnland* 4 [1907]), dedicated to De Stoppelaar's membership on many boards, acclaims his "irresistible élan that persuaded others to cooperate [...]. Such an impression his charm made that a foreign scholar, who had met him only once, wrote in his condolence letter that he had taken away from that one meeting an indelible memory." For some, De Stoppelaar was the company; a report of the 12th Congress notes that the encyclopedia ("une *Encyclopédie musulmane*") "will be printed by the publisher de Stoppelaar [...]." Jean Réville, in *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 40 (1899), 423.

22. A regular conference-goer, Robert Needham Cust, commented: "On the last day a shower of stars fell on certain male and female members of the Congress: handsome gold medals were bestowed on genuine Orientalists, and special gold medals conferred on great absent scholars." Cust, "Past and Future," 91. And see Cust, *Linguistic and Oriental Essays*, 2:199. The bestowing of honors on publishers of Oriental Studies began with the very first congress, in 1873, when some twenty-seven publishers, typesetters, printers, and others involved in "the art of the Oriental typography" received medals and certificates of honor. *Congrès international des orientalistes: Compte-rendu de la première session, Paris, 1873* (Paris, 1874–1876), 1:56–59. One recipient was not so happy with the honor ("Der türk. Orden und die schwedische Medaille, die er mir ohne mein Wissen u. Wollen, verschaft hat, haben mir das schwer gemacht," Th. Nöldeke wrote his friend De Goeje on June 16, 1897).

23. De Goeje, "Levensbericht van F. de Stoppelaar," 190n1, who also writes that De Stoppelaar was given the Vasa medal personally ("Bij gelegenheid van het Congres te Stockholm schonk Z.M. de Koning van Zweden en Noorwegen hem de Wasa-orde"); cf. the obituary notice of Van Oordt, in *Jaarboekje voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde van Leyden en Rijnland* 2 (1905), which lists the Wasa (Vasa) order among Van Oordt's awards and medals. Cf. Van der Veen, *Brill: 325 jaar uitgeven*, 66. It is most likely that the Vasa medal was conferred upon "the firm and its directors," as per *Luchtmans & Brill*, 12.

De Goeje had been publishing with E. J. Brill since 1860, when his dissertation saw the light with the Leiden firm, and the friendship he had cemented with De Stoppelaar upon their first collaboration—the fifteen-volume publication of the *Annales* of al-Ṭabarī, which appeared between 1879 and 1901—paved the way for the encyclopedia to be published in Leiden. De Goeje made a point of noting, both in the introduction to the *Annales* and in his remembrance of De Stoppelaar, that the scholarly value of a publication was more important to the publisher than the material value, which is why De Stoppelaar dared to undertake the expense of the decidedly risky publication of al-Ṭabarī.[24] When William Robertson Smith died early in the encyclopedia planning, leaving no directions as to publisher, De Goeje quickly arranged E. J. Brill's involvement.[25] De Goeje's appointment to Brill's supervisory board in 1896, although largely unknown to others, would also have helped seal the deal.

Although there was some sputtering from German scholars, who would have liked to have a German publisher, E. J. Brill was a major player, and hardly undeserving. It was well known for its orientalia—its 1906 catalogue devoted to its oriental publications listed 335 works, in nineteen eastern languages[26]—but it had an even broader program, extending also into classical studies, the natural sciences, and belles-lettres.[27] In addition, the proximity between the publishing house and De Goeje, the proactive organizer of the encyclopedia after Robertson Smith's early death, ensured that the project would survive its difficult first years, when nobody was sure about its editor, scope, and financial viability.

Both Van Oordt and De Stoppelaar died before the first encyclopedia fascicule appeared; presenting the first fascicule at the Congress of Orientalists held in Copenhagen

24. Al-Ṭabarī, *Annales quos scripsit* (Leiden, 1901), 15:lxviii; de Goeje, "Levensbericht van F. de Stoppelaar," 190.

25. Despite De Goeje's not having attended the 9th International Congress of Orientalists where the encyclopedia was proposed (see chapter one, above)—he heard about the proceedings, and presumably the encyclopedia proposal, from De Stoppelaar—he was put on the original provisional committee there and thus was involved from an early stage. De Goeje wrote to Nöldeke two months after the congress: "[Robertson Smith] is at the moment completely full of his plan for the Encyclopaedia. I am very curious about that plan. It will be very difficult to apply 'the not too much and not too little' well." M. J. de Goeje to Th. Nöldeke, September 19 and November 9, 1892.

26. De Goeje, "Levensbericht van F. de Stoppelaar," 190. A reporter wrote in awe of the "works in Persian, Turkish, Malaysian, Hebrew, Rabbinic [Hebrew], Samaritan, Syriac, ancient Syriac (Estrangelo), Greek, ancient Greek, Lydian, Russian, Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, Japanese, Batak, Manchurian, Ethiopian, "Phelvisch" [Pahlavi?], Coptic, cuneiform, hieroglyphic (in solid and open type), hieratic, Demotic, etc." that were listed in *Publications orientales de la librairie et imprimerie E. J. Brill* (1908), the 80-page supplement to its catalogue of some 190 pages. M. J. Brusse, in *Nieuwsblad voor den boekhandel* 94,8 [1927], 80; see n33, below.

27. See, e.g., *Tuta sub aegide Pallas*; Wolters, "Oldest Bookselling Firm," 99. It is less well known that until the mid-1980s E. J. Brill also published Dutch novels and poetry.

in 1908 was Cornelis Peltenburg, who came to E. J. Brill as a sales representative in 1880 and in nine short years had worked his way up to co-director. He had not wanted to be anywhere near academe or to immerse himself in Eastern languages.[28] His childhood dream had been to climb the ranks of the military. According to the future director at E. J. Brill, F. C. Wieder, who penned his obituary notice, "his military aspirations could be seen in his ramrod posture and rolling r's of his voice [and] he knew all of Napoleon's campaigns and battles in order of occurrence." Peltenburg's second career choice was vicar. Both dreams were satisfied to a certain extent in later life when he "gave sermon-like addresses" to associations and clubs and took part as a commanding officer in the Citizen's Patrol of his small town of Oegstgeest.[29] As commanding officer at E. J. Brill, he would seem to be constitutionally incapable of flourishing in the unhurried world of academic publishing, but he respected erudition and enjoyed his contacts with E. J. Brill authors. "The day the Orientalist ribbon was hung around his neck was one of the best in his life," wrote Wieder, referring to his being addressed by Snouck Hurgronje as "the oldest Dutch Orientalist" at his 80th birthday celebration, at which were present, among other dignitaries, also Kramers and Wensinck of encyclopedia fame.[30]

Peltenburg was feted by the community of scholars because publications that catered to them thrived under his direction of thirty-four years. The war years of 1914–1918 were lean, with foreign relations and orders at a standstill, and the crash of 1929 and the ensuing crisis years also played havoc with the profits, already heavily disadvantaged

28. This biographical sketch of Cornelis Peltenburg (1852–1934) is taken from the obituary notice by F. C. Wieder, in *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* (Leiden, 1935), 174–78, accessible online at www.dbnl.org, with some extra details from Van der Veen, *Brill: 325 jaar uitgeven*, 91–100; *Leidsch Dagblad*, 29 December 1932, 1. See also the mention in *Nieuwsblad voor den boekhandel* 99,97 (1932), 980. The date of 1853 given by Wieder et al. for his birth is incorrect, however, as he celebrated his 80th birthday in 1932, see below.

29. "The Director of the firm, a rather conservative gentleman, was 75. He invariably wore a morning coat and his ramrod figure (he was also commander of the local militia) was a familiar sight on the back platform of the Leiden city tram, on which he always came to the office." F. C. Wieder Jr., "*Tuta sub aegide Pallas* in Former Times," Brill's Antiquarian Catalogue No. 505 (Leiden, 1979), 1–2, a remembrance of Wieder's first eight months of employ at the house of Brill, in 1928. I am very grateful to Arnoud Vrolijk for locating and scanning the two pages for me.

30. Cf. from an obituary notice by J. B. J. Kerling, in *Jaarboekje voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde van Leiden en Rijnland [...] 1934–1935* (Leiden, 1935), 55–56: "On his 80th birthday, in his capacity of Director of E. J. Brill and of other positions, he was honored by those near and far, [...]. The most important scholars and representatives from associations came to shake his hand. He has certainly earned that because the firm Brill has much to thank him for. He always found work and always brought back commissions from his many business trips abroad, showing how well thought of and well known the firm was of which he was the Director." For a front-page account of his birthday celebration, see *Leidsch Dagblad*, December 29, 1932, 1; see also *Nieuwsblad voor den boekhandel* 99 (December 30, 1932), p. 1000 (accessible at www.delpher.nl/tijdschriften). Van der Veen (*Brill: 325 jaar uitgeven*, 100n27) cites the (nonexistent) issue of 100 (December 30, 1933) by mistake.

by Peltenburg's distrust of mechanized typesetting—which rival publishers had begun using before the First World War, thereby pushing down prices[31]—but Peltenburg took advantage of E. J. Brill's established reputation as a publisher of orientalia and nourished and expanded it by concerted effort.[32] He was at the helm for all but the last few years of the encyclopedia's published first edition and was responsible for its becoming a widely known standard work by the time the second volume was published in 1927. To a journalist in awe of the arcane nature of E. J. Brill's works—coming across books in languages he had never heard of and "written in the most bizarre characters"—and wondering how such expensive publications could possibly sell, Peltenburg explained the circular logic of publishing by showing off the (German-language edition) encyclopedia, which he boasted of having sold to Luzac and Co. in London, Harrassowitz in Leipzig, and Picard in Paris.[33]

> Every orientalist reads this. The orientalist works are automatically cited here. And we put our catalogue in every new publication in the orientalist field. In this way its appearance is announced, and the subsequent discussion will be retained forever in this standard work for consultation. We do the same with our numerous other periodicals. And thus people who need our works learn of them. Because a good book in the field we publish in is always indispensable in the world of learning. And then the authors naturally come to us [to publish].[34]

At the same time, however, Peltenburg was a demanding employer.[35] One of his staff with whom he did not get along was the legendary bookseller, H. E. Kern, longtime head of the antiquarian department at the respectable publishing company of Martinus Nijhoff.[36] An

31. Van der Veen, *Brill: 325 jaar uitgeven*, 99. For typesetting methods during the encyclopedia years, see §2 below ("Production Process").

32. *Nieuwsblad voor den boekhandel* 94,4 (1927), 41: "Ook [Peltenburg] bezoekt de Oriëntalisten-congressen, [...] en op zijn jaarlijksche buitenlandsche reizen verkeert hij vriendschapelijk met de beroemde internationale geleerden, en houdt zich op de hoogte mede van wat er in de kringen leeft op het gebied van de Oostersche talen."

33. Peltenburg's meeting with the journalist, M[arie] J. Brusse (1873–1941) was eternalized in a series that Brusse wrote for *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, entitled "Onder de menschen." The three articles about Brill, in a special series about publishers ("De Uitgeverij") appeared in the issues of January 5, 12, 19, 1927; they are reprinted in *Nieuwsblad voor den boekhandel* 94,4 (1927), 40–41; 94,6 (1927), 61–63; 94,8 (1927), 80–81.

34. Ibid., 94,8 (1927), 80. Peltenburg further boasted that the print runs of De Goeje's edition of the *Annales* and Dozy's *Supplément*, priced at ƒ175 and ƒ100 respectively, were sold out.

35. "Met ijzeren hand regeerde hij de werkkrachten, zich zelf zeker niet sparende, want van 's morgens tot dikwijls in den avond was hij op zijn kantoor te vinden." Kerling, in *Jaarboekje voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde*, 56. Notwithstanding his harsh discipline, "pretty much the entire staff" showed up at his funeral on October 11, 1934 (*Nieuwsblad voor den boekhandel* 101,79 [1934], 690).

36. Herman Egbert Kern (1879–1960), son of the renowned orientalist and Sanskritist Hendrik Kern

old friend of Kern's father, who happened to be De Stoppelaar, had written to him at the end of 1905 to see whether his son was interested in taking over the management of the antiquariat. "Given our long friendship, you will understand that this is a commitment for the future career of your son," De Stoppelaar wrote. Kern recalls the later developments:

> I accepted. I managed to get the somewhat neglected antiquariat going again thanks to the purchase of the library of the East Indian Institute (Indische Instelling) in Delft and of Van der Chijs's library in which, inter alia, P. D. de Vries's trip had gotten lost. It all looked quite promising. But then De Stoppelaar died, whereby everything changed. His successor [Peltenburg] and the board had completely different ideas about the policy to follow. Before I came, profit had fallen to *f*4,000; one year later, thanks also to the abovementioned libraries, profit had risen to *f*35,000. On account of the serious difference in views between the management and me, I didn't regard the future with any confidence. Luckily I can overcome disillusion easily. I told Mr. Wouter Nijhoff what was happening, and he asked me right away to return, which I happily did.[37]

Only under the threat of a general strike did Peltenburg finally acquiesce to the collective labor agreement, seven years after it was enacted, which reduced the working week to 57 hours, from 60, and increased wages, which at E. J. Brill in 1914 were still those of 1890.[38] Ironically, in light of his difficulties with modernization, the Peltenburg Pension fund, source of the employees' pensions, was established by a bequest from his estate a few years after his death (although still a lengthy half-century after the first Dutch pension fund was set up, in 1881).[39] His aversion to technological advances—he replaced steam with electricity only in 1914 and, as noted above, allowed a mechanical typesetting machine to enter the property some twenty years later than competitors—meant that his successor had to undertake a complete, and expensive, modernization.

Theunis Folkers came on board as director on July 1, 1934, when Peltenburg—eighty years old—was helped into retirement. He was a career publisher, having worked from the age of sixteen for two separate publishing firms, Noordhof (1896–1914) and Martinus

(d. 1917), after whom the Kern Institute at Leiden University is named. The two libraries Kern jr. bought for E. J. Brill were large East Indian and Batavian collections, which he might have known about through his father. For anecdotes of Kern's largesse and expertise, see Anton Gerits, *Op dubbelspoor en Pilatusbaan: Boeken als middel van bestaan* (Zutphen, 2000); somewhat abridged Engl. trans. *Books, Friends, and Bibliophilia: Reminiscences of an Antiquarian Bookseller* (New Castle, DE, 2004). For a short series of Kern's reminiscences, see H. E. Kern, "Herinneringen I–III," *De Antiquaar* 1 (1969–1970), 9–14, 36–39, 64–67.

37. Kern, "Herinneringen," 36.

38. Van der Veen, *Brill: 325 jaar uitgeven*, 92.

39. As of January 1, 2009, Brill's Peltenburg Pension Fund was liquidated; its responsibilities were taken over by Interpolis.

Nijhoff (1914–1934), before coming to the helm at E. J. Brill.[40] There he found five attic rooms piled high with books in storage; a troubled trade in antiquarian bookselling, with books "in as many as eighty-seven different languages"; a printing department using antiquated methods, whose costs for the publishing house—mostly because of the high price of manual typesetting—were one-third more than those of its competitors; and a noticeable lack of an advertising department.[41] He immediately began cleaning out the dead wood. The improving market helped as well, and by the time Germany invaded Poland in September 1939, turnover had doubled (ƒ132,000 in 1934, ƒ294,626 in 1939) and the shareholders were once again receiving their annual dividends of twenty-five percent. The typesetting and printing operations had to be staffed by double shifts to handle all the business. Not only were many German authors, in exile or not, publishing with Brill,[42] a Japanese institution had bought ƒ30,000 worth of books from the antiquariat that Folkers had kept in business by dint of pressure from the supervisory board, and King Farouk I purchased all of Brill's publications shown at a special exhibition in Cairo in 1938.[43] In that year, E. J. Brill was second in the Netherlands, behind Nijhoff, in a ranking of largest publishers of academic journals.[44]

Shortly after the assumption of the directorship by Folkers, the final volume proper of the first edition was published (1934), to be followed two years later by the third volume (1936). The five supplement fascicules, which sold for ƒ3 through the first four and ƒ4 for the final one, would appear between 1934 and 1938, and Wensinck had begun preparing the encyclopedia's abbreviated versions, which ultimately would appear—at least in two editions, German and English—in 1941 and 1953 respectively.

The completion of the encyclopedia, including the supplement, which must have meant a noticeable decrease in income for the publishing company, coincided with German armies advancing throughout Europe. Folkers took advantage of the inability of German and Soviet publishers to sell to or import from England and France and established

40. The following sketch of Theunis Folkers (1879–1951) has been taken largely from Van der Veen, *Brill: 325 jaar uitgeven*, and from a short anonymous bio that can be accessed in a database of employers on the site of the Dutch International Institute of Social History, http://www.iisg.nl/ondernemers/pdf/pers-0482-01.pdf (henceforth, IISH pdf).

41. Van der Veen, *Brill: 325 jaar uitgeven*, 101–3.

42. Some German-authored titles from the war years were: Franz Rosenthal, *Die aramaistische Forschung seit Th. Nöldeke's Veröffentlichungen* (1939); the third edition of Sigmund Feist, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache* (1939); and Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, vol. 3 (1958; manuscript was submitted in 1940). All were Jewish scholars who published with German publishers until they had to flee Nazi Germany, Rosenthal to the United States, Feist to Denmark, and Jacoby to England. Hendrik Edelman, *International Publishing in the Netherlands, 1933–1945: German Exile, Scholarly Expansion, War-Time Clandestinity* (Leiden, 2010), 103–6.

43. Van der Veen, *Brill: 325 jaar uitgeven*, 102–4; cf. IISH pdf.

44. Bouwman et al., *Stad van Boeken*, 307. The number of journal titles Brill published in 1940 was twenty-three (ibid.), which was likely no different from the number published in 1938.

a division that functioned as intermediary; he had high hopes for its success.[45] Any confidence he and others might have had in the neutrality stance of the Netherlands was short-lived, however, for Germany overran the Netherlands in May 1940, and the ensuing occupation, restrictions on the use of supplies such as metal, paper, and electricity, and labor reduction combined to make publishing a struggling industry for the next few years.

To remain profitable E. J. Brill took on the publication of Dutch textbooks, and the resolving "creaking attics" phenomenon of the crisis years, when books were unaffordable and piled up only to then sell heavily to a war-starved reading public, also helped to mitigate the worst.[46] Folkers continued to capitalize on the losses the German market sustained by restocking German library collections destroyed by Allied bombs and by acting as substitute printing house; some of the publications Brill printed were training manuals for German or Russian soldiers.[47] Confirmation of Folkers's priorities is given in a memoir from the war by Marie Kahle, when he offered no help for the persecuted Kahle family hoping to escape to Holland in 1939:

> During the following week we had a visit from M. Folkers from the Brill firm in Leyden. He was not encouraging; he had a comparatively big trade with German bookshops and of course would in no way let his business suffer because of his friendship with my husband.[48]

Folkers's lesser regard for personal suffering at this time is conspicuous as well in a report that he convinced the German police in Amsterdam to let him retrieve some books that he had ordered for German libraries from the shuttered antiquarian bookshop of Salomo Israel, who had fled into hiding.[49] In this way, turnover in 1941 was nearly at pre-

45. Van der Veen, *Brill: 325 jaar uitgeven*, 105.

46. For the "krakende zolders" phenomenon as experienced by another Dutch publisher, see Steven Claeyssens, "De erven F. Bohn: Het fonds," in *Deugdelijke arrebeid vordert lang bepeinzen: Jubileumboek uitgegeven ter gelegenheid van het 250-jarig bestaan van uitgeverij Bohn, 1752–2002* (Houten, 2002), 197.

47. Van der Veen, *Brill: 325 jaar uitgeven*, 108; Edelman (*International Publishing*, 107) mentions E. J. Brill printing "an interrogation manual by the Dutch Nazi publisher Westland on behalf of the German army." Van der Veen (p. 108) writes that one of the projects that came out of Folkers's ties with Germany in this period was the "extremely successful *Handwörterbuch des Islam*," which, as detailed in chapter two, above, was begun by Wensinck and finished by Kramers, on behest of the Royal Dutch Academy, having little if anything to do with contacts in Germany.

48. Kahle, *What Would You Have Done?*, 28; see chapter two, n129.

49. Edelman, *International Publishing*, 107. The Israel family, along with other Dutch publishers, filed complaints against Folkers after the war. A year later, Salomo was captured in Brussels on his way to Switzerland; he did not survive the war. Piet J. Buijnsters, "The Antiquarian Book Trade in the Netherlands during the Second World War," *Quaerendo* 36 (2006), 267.

war levels (ƒ270,000) and rose steadily during the war years, more than doubling by the time the war ended.[50]

Although the publishing house enjoyed its war-time profits, the results shone a harsh light on Folkers in post-war Holland, which turned on those who were seen as having collaborated with the Germans. In the black-and-white world of collaboration versus resistance, there was little appreciation for a gray area of pragmatism or for mixed motives, and Folkers's trips to Germany and his various money-making projects withered in the glare of peacetime, raising alarm bells. In September 1946 he was arrested, in May 1947 he was deprived of the right to hold a managerial position in the business community, and on January 1, 1948 he was dismissed from E. J. Brill. He died three years later, his name for always shadowed by suspicion.[51]

At the time of Folkers's arrest, the board appointed one of its own, a professor of economic and social history, Nicolaas W. Posthumus, to be interim director.[52] Posthumus had been dismissed from the University of Amsterdam by the Germans in 1942 and his famed International Institute of Social History (IISH), set up in Amsterdam in 1935, was confiscated; in 1943 he was appointed to E. J. Brill's board of overseers and the interim position was made permanent when Folkers was fired. Posthumus would lead the company until 1958; he died in 1960, at the age of eighty.

As director he was put in the difficult position of having to justify the amount of "enemy money" found in E. J. Brill's accounts upon the war's end to an office, operating between 1945 and 1967, that had been set up to trace, manage, and ultimately liquidate both traitors' and enemy assets.[53] In an affidavit dated June 13, 1949, Posthumus fought off the accusation of having kept honoraria from two German authors—R. Hennig, who was owed ƒ447.28, and Carl Brockelmann, who was owed ƒ1066.16—which should have been registered. Posthumus had not declared the amounts, he asserted, because he had not known of their existence; by not being allowed to give them to their rightful owners now, it would have "a disastrous influence on the German academic milieus, which will turn away from Brill, which will thereby see its export to Germany reduced both directly and indirectly."[54] Another case of found enemy money was far more costly. The same bureau found that Folkers had not declared an amount of ƒ50,000—indeed, had seemingly

50. Van der Veen, *Brill: 325 jaar uitgeven*, 109. For an account of a Dutch publisher and his survival methods during the Second World War, see Sjoerd van Faassen and Salma Chen, "A. A. M. Stols, Publisher: 'We Are Not Collaborators,'" *Quaerendo* 40 (2010), 327–64.

51. For more on the aftermath of the war and Folkers, see Van der Veen, *Brill: 325 jaar uitgeven*, 111–12.

52. For Nicolaas Wilhelmus Posthumus (1880–1960), see his entry in *Biografisch woordenboek van het socialisme en de arbeidersbeweging in Nederland* 2 (1987), 112–15; and the notice by T. S. Jansma, in *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde te Leiden 1960–61* (Leiden, 1961), 126–34.

53. The office was the Centrale Vermogensopsporingsdienst, which seized most debts or monies that were seen to have a German connection.

54. "Verklaring" made to Cornelis Johannes Couveld and Anthonus Marinus van Gils of the Centrale

laundered it by charging the German wartime office of Reichsarbeitschaft Turkestan that same amount less than the advance that had been received at the end of 1944 for the printing of an atlas. Posthumus advanced an argument somewhat along the same lines as in the first case and was able to reduce the amount owed to the government.[55]

The five years following liberation were less profitable for E. J. Brill than the preceding years.

> After liberation we basically began building the company Brill up again. The editorial program was practically empty and the book store and antiquarian department were also hit badly by the war.[56]

Trade was stymied as countries around the world rebuilt and skimped on such luxuries as academic books; paper was in even shorter supply, while new taxes—the capital gains tax—decreed by the state for reconstruction efforts hampered growth. Applications, which were not always granted, had to be made to the government for the purchase of building materials and new machinery. In 1949 Brill registered a "loss of nearly *f*200,000," forcing the publisher to apply for a loan.[57] A post-war letter from a printer in Amsterdam to E. J. Brill sheds some light on business hardships suffered by the industry:

> According to our administration, in 1944 we had 5,499 sheets of 85 x 70 cm Schut paper that belonged to you. In the winter of 1944–45 the entire inventory of our plant was removed by the Germans, eventually ending up in Groningen. It was not on the lists of items that were found there. The paper thus either disappeared or was left in our plant. The last-mentioned is most definitely not the case. [...] The paper was therefore without a doubt stolen—as was the case with many of our own batches. The emptying of the plant occurred in different stages, using 5 boats that made the trip to Groningen at different times and without proper oversight. [...] Wonderful opportunities to steal, therefore, which were gratefully taken advantage of, so that in addition to a lot of paper

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Vermogensopsporingsdienst, June 13, 1949. Uncatalogued Brill archive, Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam Library.

55. Van der Veen, *Brill: 325 jaar uitgeven*, 114–15.

56. Draft letter to the Amsterdamsche Bank [no date, ca. 1958], for a loan of *f*500,000 to pay for the new printing department's housing. Uncatalogued Brill archive, Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam Library.

57. Van der Veen, *Brill: 325 jaar uitgeven*, 117–18. From the draft letter to the Amsterdamsche Bank (previous note): "The editorial program was slowly built up again, a small expansion of capital took place twice. The printing equipment was modernized and expanded. This happened with loans from the Herstelbank, which have now been paid back." The Herstelbank was "a new bank set up in 1945 by government, the large commercial banks, and insurance companies to finance small-scale industry." Jan L. van Zanden, "The Netherlands: The History of an Empty Box?" in *European Industrial Policy: The Twentieth-Century Experience*, ed. James Foreman-Peck and Giovanni Federico (New York, 1999), 184.

> we are also missing 30 motors and many auxiliary machines. [...] Seeing that our entire office staff was fired by the administrator [Ger. *den vervalter*] since they refused to cooperate in the move, this "office" was made up of recruited people who had never worked in the plant, [...].[58]

With the opening of the Indonesian and American markets, business picked up in the 1950s, just in time for the publishing house to be able to advance ƒ20,000 to cover two years—1951 and 1952—of the necessary costs that the second edition of the encyclopedia was beginning to make, viz., salary (of the editorial secretaries Stern and Huisman) and editorial expenses.[59] By February 5, 1952, all but ƒ8,471.51 of this advance had been spent;[60] the leftover sum was around ƒ4,000 by October 1, when the agreement expired.[61] Despite some financial improvements, in 1953 the company took on a project that lay far outside its expertise: twelve large maps of general history intended for schools, drawn by the Leiden historian C. J. P. Kars. It was a one-time effort, stymied by poor workmanship. E. J. Brill made a print run of 500 copies and returned to academic publishing.[62] Turnover slowly increased, with ƒ1.5M earned in 1952 growing to ƒ1.9M in 1957.[63]

Advances in typesetting had taken place and new machinery had been purchased in the intervening years between the two encyclopedia editions, which caused some recalibrating in the early 1950s. The machinery was not always brand new, as notes from a supervisory board meeting in June 1954 confirm:

> The desirability of purchasing an as-good-as-new Johannesberger Snelpers, brand "Vorwärts," was discussed. The machine is surplus at the printing house Luctor et Emergo in The Hague and would be very useful to Brill, to replace a similar machine that dates from the year 1911. The price of this machine is ƒ40,000, which is a savings of ƒ18,000 on the price of this machine new. It was decided to proceed with the purchase.[64]

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58. L. van Leer and Co. N.V., Amsterdam, to E. J. Brill, dated April 9, 1946. Uncatalogued Brill archive, Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam Library.

59. The agreement was that Brill would be repaid if the subventions to the encyclopedia picked up; report of the editorial meeting held November 1952.

60. Wieder to Huisman, February 5, 1952.

61. "Brill sent me his account of the first two years. It shows a debt of the Foundation to Brill of about F 16.000,---, and we shall have to discuss the method of repayment." Berg to Gibb, October 18, 1952. For the Foundation, see chapter two, text at n111.

62. For analysis of this venture and critique of the maps, see Lowie Brink, *Nederlandse geschiedkundige schoolwandkaarten* (Nijmegen, 2014), 79–81.

63. Draft letter to the Amsterdamsche Bank [no date, ca. 1958] (see n56, above).

64. Notes from a supervisory board meeting, June 9, 1954. Uncatalogued Brill archive, Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam Library. The "Johannesberger," properly Johannisberger, letterpress machine was a very large cylinder press. Mention is made of the same printing machine as having been one of the first machines belonging to the Typography Vocational School in Utrecht at its

A series of recriminations between the editors and Posthumus in January and February 1953 on the matter of printing delays was summed up neutrally by Berg:

> Professor Posthumus tells me that it will not be possible to have the first fascicule ready on the first of april. From a technical point of view he is not able to start printing before the whole lot of articles is at the printer's disposal. In the case of the first edition of the Encyclopaedia the situation was different: for mechanical typography the machines must be adapted to the type of the letter and to the size of the page, and each adaptation requires a lot of time, so that no adaptation can be carried out unless sufficient printing material is available.[65]

The first fascicule of the second edition was published nine months later, in January 1954, but the process of only typesetting an entire fascicule, in both languages, once it had been received in its entirety in typescript was cumbersome and slow. The idea of sending out galleys—unpaginated column proofs—of articles outside of the rigid alphabetization scheme did not seem to enter the picture until July 1955, when it was reported that as an experiment "first (or galley) proofs" would be sent for correction "without regard to the alphabetical order of the entries." They seem to have been sent separately per article, per column, pasted on a scrap piece of paper (fig. 25). At this early stage, the aim was four fascicules, two in each language, to be published each year.[66]

With the new machines and the warehousing of increased numbers of books, space in the building on the Oude Rijn (fig. 12)—where the publisher had been located since 1883 when it moved from its stately residence on the Rapenburg—was at a premium, not to mention that the old foundation suffered as a result of the weight. Posthumus arranged for the rental of two connected storage units in Leiden for three years, from 1952–1955, which term could be extended, for *f*500 per annum.[67] At the same time, Posthumus made plans to move the printing operations, and shortly after he stepped down as director, in

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founding in 1907, nearly fifty years earlier. See *Lustrumboek* [uitgegeven ter gelegenheid van het vijfjarig bestaan der Vakschool voor de Typografie, gevestigd te Utrecht] (Utrecht, 1912), 10 ("De drukkerij kreeg een Johannisberger-snelpers met een Dux-inlegapparaat en werd bovendien met een Gordon-trappers verrijkt. Op deze persen zouden de leerlingen van het derde leerjaar onderwijs ontvangen"). For a short history of the cylinder press (*snelpers*) in the Netherlands, see Dick van Lente, "Drukpersen, papiermachines en lezerspubliek: De verhouding tussen technische en culturele ontwikkelingen in Nederland in de negentiende eeuw," in *Bladeren in andermanshoofd: Over lezers en leescultuur*, ed. Theo Bijvoet et al. (Nijmegen, 1996), 255–60.

65. Berg to Gibb and Lévi-Provençal, February 11, 1953.

66. Report of the Editorial Committee, July 1955.

67. Agreement between Posthumus and P. J. van Leeuwen, for "twee ineenlopende opslagplaatsen in het café-restaurant 'De Burcht' te Leiden." Uncatalogued Brill archive, Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam Library.

April 1958, a plot of land was bought on the southern side of Leiden for that purpose.[68] The purchase and move in 1961 took place under his successor, F. C. Wieder Jr., who had worked at E. J. Brill since 1928, for many years as its deputy director.[69] The publishing side of the business, which remained at its address in the center of town, would meet up again with the printing side in 1985, when the Oude Rijn premises were left for good.[70] It would be a short reunion as the printing operations were divested in 1989.

Wieder was perhaps the last of the gentleman publishers, as described by a former employee on the occasion of Brill's 300th year (1983):

> My job [from 1959–61] was to correspond with foreign creditors, to remind them at set times that they had to do something as banal as pay up. I had learned early on that if you buy something, you pay for it, so in the beginning I went to work a bit too energetically for the then director F. C. Wieder Jr. (who, in addition to being a highly strung gentleman, was also crazy about trams, and every once in a while he wrote a complicated piece about the painful lack of a tram in the public transportation system). There were lots of scholars among the creditors who might one day write magnificent manuscripts for Brill. So treat these guys carefully, very carefully. They shouldn't be disturbed. They should be addressed in the reminders with a velvet touch and cotton candy phrasing.
>
> I remember a discussion about a French professor, archeologist, who had been digging in the desert for years, ordered the most expensive books (post restante Dakar or so), but didn't quite understand the practice of paying. Well, not even the cotton candy method applied to him. "No," Wieder said, smiling civilly, "because if the man ever comes out of the desert, he'll probably have material for an amazingly important scholarly work and there shouldn't be any upset between us and him over bills." "Maybe he won't come out of the desert with anything," I said, with the suspicion that was specific to my generation.

68. From a draft letter to the Amsterdamsche Bank (see n56, above), a loan of ƒ500,000 to finance the first part of the move, viz., the "machine-hall," was envisaged, with repayment in five years.

69. Frederik Casparus Wieder Jr. (1911–1987), Officer in the Order of Oranje-Nassau, was the son of a renowned cartographer and librarian (d. 1943), whose positions at universities included Leiden where he held the top position at the university library from 1924–1938. Like his father, who was chairman of the supervisory board—his death opened up a seat for Posthumus—the son also sat on Brill's supervisory board, following his retirement as director, from 1979 until his death in 1987. See the obituary notice in *Leidsch Dagblad*, January 22, 1987, 4.

70. The moving date was June 7, 1985 and the building was taken over by Leiden University, its rightful owner. On August 2, twenty squatters occupied the old building, with hopes to buy, for a symbolic amount, the monumental building and renovate it for housing and art studios. The university did not press charges, and the town of Leiden bought the building in 1986 for a little under ƒ400,000. The squatters could stay until the building was renovated, which in the end did not begin until the end of May 1992, after which the squatters were allowed to rent apartments there. *Leidsch Dagblad*, September 11, 1985, 13; May 24, 1991, 11.

> "That is a risk Brill has to take," Mr. Wieder said properly. Brill was Brill and that stood for something. In a period when good manners were shoved carelessly into the trashcan, when people tried to control the market with rude noise and dubious slogans, Brill offered clients and scholars the impeccable courtesy of the nineteenth century.[71]

Business was very good from the 1960s on. The nonacademic works published by E. J. Brill began to fall away and the company kept its focus on its academic works. E. J. Brill was a household word as far away as Saudi Arabia, at least according to a Dutch daily newspaper:

> Every Arab who knows the history of his religion and is aware of his culture knows that there is a city called Leiden that is somewhere in Holland and that there, from time immemorial, is a publisher, called Brill, who printed the first books in Arabic in Europe. This Arab also knows that this printer produces the great works of Islamic Studies: their encyclopedia, their concordance of the Prophetic traditions, and other works of contemporary importance.[72]

By the latter half of the 1970s, the number of annual publications had more than doubled (from 70 to an average of 175) and turnover had increased sixfold (from ƒ2M to an average of ƒ12M).[73] A lot of the production was by way of distribution agreements, which provided for a lot of work but squeezed the profit margins. Nevertheless, the continued increase in production necessitated infrastructural changes, and two major personnel appointments were made in 1967: T. A. Edridge, a New Zealander residing at that time in Lancashire, UK, was appointed Classics editor on January 1, and F. Th. Dijkema was hired as Oriental editor on March 1. The former would be given the position of deputy director as of June 1, 1974,[74] from which five years later, upon Wieder's retirement in 1979, he acceded to director—the last to be appointed from within ranks. He died unexpectedly and very prematurely in August of the following year from Hodgkin's lymphoma.[75] The latter became solely responsible in 1976 for the disciplines that did not make up Edridge's

71. Ruud Paauw, "Onbegonnen werk," in *Leidsch Dagblad*, September 16, 1983, 4.

72. *NRC*, Thursday, August 22, 1963, article: "Vernieuwingen in Saoedi-Arabië na het tijdperk-Saoed: Kansen voor de Nederlands industrie."

73. Van der Veen, *Brill: 325 jaar uitgeven*, 127, 129.

74. The year of Edridge's appointment as deputy-director is erroneously given as 1976 in the announcement of his succeeding Wieder as director in *Nieuwsblad voor den boekhandel* 21,146 (1979).

75. Tom Edridge (1935–1980) came to the Netherlands with a B.A. and M.A. in Classics, after an unsatisfactory stint as teacher at a school in Freshfield, Formby, England. He was much liked by the Brill personnel, who had high expectations of his leadership. At an unknown date he was made a fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society; his death is mentioned in *JRAS* 113,2 (1981), 250. I am grateful to his wife Francine Edridge and to Julian Deahl, who succeeded him as editor in 1980, for providing me with answers to my many questions.

list—Islam, Asia, Old Testament, Judaica—which included the encyclopedia; he retired in 1992.[76] The era of the director of the company engaging in extended correspondence with authors about the very routine details of publishing had finally passed. One such fairly typical exchange between Wieder and an author lasted from 1959 to 1963. It began innocently enough, for publication was expected within a few months.

> I have been informed by Professor Dr. P. Scheibert, that we may expect your manuscript of THE DIPLOMATIC STRUGGLE FOR THE BOUNDARIES OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA 1914–1920, which will be published in our series "Studies in East-European History" in the beginning of next year. I am very happy with this news. [...] I have no objection that we publish the book under the name: Mrs. Perman. [...] We will certainly print the footnotes under each page and not at the end of the chapters where they cannot be found by the reader. It is also impractical to print all the notes together at the end of the book [...]. You may send us your check for the subsidy at your convenience. Normally payment of subsidies is due on publication of the book. So if you would like to wait until the first copy of the book is in your hands, it is quite right. Regarding the free-copies I shall be very glad to offer you 25 copies free of charge. We do not send free-copies to the Library of Congress, but you are of course free to do so yourself. We are doing the distribution of your book in America ourselves.[77]

Mrs. Perman decided she wanted a new title ("the present one is too long and a[w]kward. The title now is as follows: THE SHAPING OF A STATE, Diplomatic History of the Boundaries of Czechoslovakia, 1914-1920"), which started a protracted back-and-forth, with even the series editor getting invoved ("Prof. Philipp is of the opinion that the original title for your book, THE SHAPING OF A STATE, is not a good one. It is too general. In his opinion it should be THE SHAPING OF THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN STATE, giving direct indications as to what the book will handle"), and after considerable discussion about all and sundry, including the sorry occurrence of Mrs. Perman having marked up the first revised proof with the second proof's corrections, Wieder and the author came to an agreement. Copyright, not including the right of translation, was assigned to Brill; the author was to pay a subsidy of $1,180 upon publication;[78] the print run would be 1,000 copies; a royalty of ten percent of retail price, "the cost of binding to be deducted," would be paid. The

76. For Dijkema, see chapter two, n291.

77. Wieder to Mrs. Dagmar H. Perman, Bethesda, Maryland, December 7, 1959. Uncatalogued Brill archive, Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam Library. The Brill archive was delivered to the University library in garbage bags, "pigeon-poop" and all ("een enorm ongeordende bende, zomaar toendertijd in vuilniszakken gepropt met duivenpoep en al"), and subsequently put unordered in some thirty-six boxes. Personal communication, N. Kool, April 12, 1998.

78. According to the U.S. Department of Labor inflation calculator (www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm), $1,180 in 1961 was the equivalent of $9,692.87 in 2017.

agreement was signed and dated December 15, 1961; the book was published as *The Shaping of the Czechoslovak State: Diplomatic History of the Boundaries of Czechoslovakia, 1914–1920*, in 1962.[79]

Until the advent of commissioning editors, it was thus the director or his deputy who were the communicators-in-chief. As the correspondence above illustrates, even the lowliest complaint from authors was Wieder's domain, including questions about the high price of Brill books:

> With a soft cover on a book of 75 pages, how can you expect buyers to pay 18 guilders? That is over $4.50, and it is a very high price even in America. I know that it contains Arabic print and needed much work, but if we compare it with books published in Cairo and Beirut we shall again find that it is very expensive. In any case you received a subsidy of $800."[80]

He also answered to the board, of course (e.g., bargaining about the purchase of typesetting equipment: "I would at the same time like to discuss with you the purchase of new Monotype machines. It is now clear that the new building can accommodate a larger expansion than expected. The backlog of work to be typeset is still growing and in light of the lengthy delivery time of Monotype machines, one year, I would like to order them as soon as possible"[81]), and threw his weight around when the staff behaved badly ("I have noted that the problem of throwing letter type has reached alarming proportions again. I have given orders to deal harshly with this rowdy behavior. From now on, those who throw letter type should expect to be fired on the spot"[82]). Continuing the tradition, Wieder was thus also the publishing liaison for the encyclopedia ("I wanted to ask how everything was with the Encyclopaedia of Islam. Are there problems among the editors again?"[83]) and often simply the office help ("I have got no facilities for stencilling, I should be grateful if you would have 36 copies of the enclosed text stencilled for me"[84]).

79. Despite the copyright date, the book seems to have been backdated, given the still unfinished state of the book in the latter months of 1962 and correspondence between Wieder and Perman about maps needing to be redrawn in the first two months of 1963.

80. George Hourani to Wieder, July 14, 1959, upon receipt of the first copy of his edition of Ibn Rushd's *Faṣl al-maqāl*, part of a big folder of correspondence going back to initial submission of the manuscript, five years previously. Uncatalogued Brill archive, Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam Library.

81. Wieder to Ir. L. W. G. de Roo de la Faille, commissaris, August 18, 1961. Uncatalogued Brill archive, Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam Library.

82. Warning [to staff] from Wieder, October 5, 1966. Uncatalogued Brill archive, Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam Library.

83. Jan Brugman, chairman of the supervisory board, to Wieder, May 4, 1972. Uncatalogued Brill archive, Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam Library.

84. Schacht to Wieder, February 2, 1957.

With the arrival of Edridge and Dijkema to lighten the executive's load and shepherd titles, E. J. Brill entered a more modern era of publishing.[85]

Expansion in the publisher's ranks was mirrored by expansion of its global presence—in addition to a branch office in Cologne that had been set up in 1953 to facilitate distribution to the German market, in 1973 Brill bought a London bookstore, W. J. Bryce, to act as its retail bookstore. There were also talks, sometimes threats, of mergers with other publishers during these years. One was with Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij (NHUM), concerning which talks began in January 1966 and ended a year later, when Wieder rejected it on the grounds that the cultures of the two institutions were so different: a "young company [...] with almost exclusively b-publications, whose quality can be adjusted to the price, [vs. one] specialized in highly academic a-publications, whose quality weighs more than the price."[86] In a letter to the supervisory board, which had encouraged the merger, Wieder wrote of concerns:

> This chapter could hereby be seen to be finished, but the difference in view over the future of the company, which came to the forefront during our talks, cannot just be laid aside. I consider this to be quite serious and cannot shake the thought that I am to be blamed that you do not have better insight into the firm's operations, which you yourselves supervise. There is generally little time during our infrequent meetings to do anything but the annual figures. These provide results, of course, but say little about how the results came to be. If you would do me the pleasure of agreeing to meet to discuss how we came to these results, then I propose the following.
>
> A few years ago I gave a talk about our company to a group of friends in Wassenaar, where I presented the history of a number of publications as "case-histories." The presentation was followed with much interest, and I would actually like to treat a few of these "case-histories" with you, so that you will better understand how the firm makes a profit and then particularly how long-term profit is envisaged.[87]

85. Dijkema was co-opted in the administration of the encyclopedia behind the scenes; the first mention of his name in the archive is found in a letter from Lewis to Van Donzel of July 15, 1976 ("I have just received a letter from Dijkema dated June 28, asking me to write the article Kunsul") to which Van Donzel replied on August 26, 1976, that all that was needed was "to refer to the article Consul by Spuler." There is one last epistolary gasp by Wieder on May 26, 1978, when he wrote Van Donzel upon the publication of volume four of an imperative price increase, but it is clear that by then the director and deputy director had finally removed themselves from the nitty-gritty of dealing with authors directly.

86. Wieder to Brill's supervisory board, October 10, 1966. Uncatalogued Brill archive, Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam Library.

87. Wieder to Brill's Supervisory Board, January 23, 1967. Uncatalogued Brill archive, Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam Library.

Notwithstanding the supervisory board's newly learned insights, it again supported a bid in 1969 by Elsevier, which ended up buying up the young company NHUM instead; in 1970 Brill was approached by N. Samson n.v., which then merged with A. W. Sijthoff; and in 1972 it was itself interested in buying Luzac and Co. in London, which did not come to pass. The general outcome of all these buying frenzies was to reinforce the conviction at Brill that it was an attractive company and that it could stand on its own.

Wieder was the director most lengthily involved with the encyclopedia's second edition. His more than twenty years' stint in leadership crisscrossed those of eight encyclopedia editors, and he was on hand for the appearance of the first four volumes. After Wieder's retirement in 1979, Edridge's very short tenure, and Wieder's interim return for a year, a new director was appointed in 1981. Wim Backhuys, who had a small publishing company devoted to biology, continued his biology enthusiasms while at Brill.[88] Although many might have been surprised to learn that there even was a science list, it formed a significant core in Brill's business since the late nineteenth century, the age of expeditions. An important early publication was the zoologist Max Weber's Siboga expedition reports, which appeared in 1901 and continued to be published over several decades—some 150 volumes by Backhuys's time—including those on algae discoveries by his wife Anna Weber-van Bosse.[89] These led to the publication of results from other scientific expeditions, such as the Jesup North Pacific expedition (1897–1902) undertaken by the famed anthropologist Franz Boas. Ten volumes of results were published in the monograph series *Memoirs of the Museum of Natural History*, begun in 1893. Boas would also go on to initiate and edit Brill's series *Publications of the American Ethnological Society* in 1907.[90] The Dutch Zoological Society published its journal (*Archives néerlandaises de zoologie*, now titled *Animal Biology*) with Brill from its founding in 1883, and in the 1930s, a number of scientific journals—*Acta Biotheoretica* (1935) and its offshoots *Folia Biotheoretica*, *Bibliotheca Biotheoretica*, *Bibliographica Biotheoretica*; and *Temminckia: A Journal of Systematic*

88. Willem Backhuys (b. 1944) earned his doctorate in biology from Leiden University in 1975 with the study "Zoogeography and Taxonomy of the Land and Freshwater Molluscs of the Azores." Before his appointment at Brill, he taught biology at the Erasmiaans Gymnasium in Rotterdam (1968–1969), was curator of the Natural History Museum in Rotterdam (October 1969–July 1972), and thereupon owned an antiquarian bookstore and co-owned a publishing company, both dealing in the natural sciences.

89. Max W. C. Weber (1852–1937), a naturalized Dutch citizen who taught at the universities of Utrecht and Amsterdam, led the flora and fauna expedition to the East Indies, on the Dutch ship *Siboga*, from 1899 to 1900. For Max Weber, see Florence F. J. M. Pieters and Jaap de Visser, "The Scientific Career of the Zoologist Max Wilhelm Carl Weber (1852–1937)," *Bijdragen tot de Dierkunde* 62 (1993), 193–214. Backhuys's account of Brill's publications in the natural sciences appears in the volume dedicated to Brill's tercentenary, *Tuta sub aegide Pallas*, 79–87.

90. For an analysis of the work of Boas (1858–1942), "the father of American anthropology," and of his place in the field, see Herbert S. Lewis, "The Passion of Franz Boas," *American Anthropologist* 103 (2001), 447–67; *Constructing Cultures Then and Now: Celebrating Franz Boas and the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, ed. Laurel Kendall and Igor Krupnik (Washington, DC, 2003).

Zoology (1936)—were added to the list. Volumes of proceedings regularly appeared from Brill, from inter alia the International Congress of Plant Breeders, the International Geographic Congress, and the International Gynecological Society, lending or adding their names to Brill's solid reputation in the field. When Backhuys succeeded to the management, the list had nevertheless lost some of its glory. Despite his self-referential hope that the "biologist [...] appointed as director" will ensure that "within a few years Brill will again be able to occupy a respectable position in these fields [of biology, paleontology, and geology]," Backhuys would have a stormy time of it.[91] Perhaps indicative of a myopic business acumen, Backhuys invested ƒ500,000 for a majority stake in Robert Brown and Associates, a small publishing firm in Bathurst, Australia, convinced that it would open up New Zealand and Papua New Guinea to Brill sales.[92] Ignoring the distressed nature of Brill's long-standing sales dependencies in the larger cities of Cologne and London, it is little surprising that the investment to encourage sales in a far-flung region of the world did not reap an attractive return. Little time was allowed the experiment in any case, as Backhuys was forced to leave in 1988, along with the chairman of the supervisory board, after consecutive years of losses and heavy-handed management.

During the Backhuys years the print works were modernized, with metal type changing over to photosetting, but the decisive step that needed to be taken, wholesale divestment of the printing operations and their spiraling labor costs, was sidestepped. It would be left to Backhuys's successor, Frans Pruijt, appointed as interim in January 1989 and permanently a year later, to fix up the many problems built over the years—from dead wood to years of mismanagement to outdated fixtures and methods.[93]

Pruijt would also recognize the unused potential of the encyclopedia, which had been left to its own devices, or those of its editors, over these years. From 1981 through 1988, eleven fascicules were published—one a year, with 1983, 1985, and 1987 being the

91. *Tuta sub aegide Pallas*, 87.

92. Although Van der Veen (*Brill: 325 jaar uitgeven*, 139) claims that Robert Brown "only published travel guides," some of its titles—e.g., *Shells of Queensland and the Great Barrier Reef: Marine Gastropods* (1987); *Mitre Shells from the Pacific and Indian Oceans* (1984); *Spiny Oyster Shells of the World* (1986)—understandably were catnip to malacologists such as Backhuys. Nevertheless, the markets of the Pacific were, perhaps only in hindsight, little lucrative.

93. Brill's turnaround was noted in an article in *Leidsch Dagblad* of April 13, 1990 (p. 13) with the headline "Brill is Profitable Again." Other problems inherited by Pruijt were: an over-reliance on both Dutch and German scholarship and subsidy publishing, which concealed decreasing demand; book series under the auspices of unknown and in publishing terms inactive institutes (there were some 300 series in 1981, but only 110 new publications); enormous book overstocks and lax write-offs: and a slew of peripheral practices, such as distribution agreements and bookshops in the UK, Germany, and the Netherlands, which for the most part depressed general margins and distracted from publishing. I am indebted for the above, some of it reproduced verbatim, to Julian Deahl, senior acquisitions editor of Brill's history list from 1980–2015. For the purchase by Brill of other publishing programs in the early 1980s, see, e.g., Bouwman et al., *Stad van Boeken*, 365–66.

break-out years of two fascicules. This was in part due to the continued antiquated methods of lead typesetting (see below), but the onus also lay on the editors, who only irregularly felt a sense of urgency about the slow pace of production. Pruijt remarked on this early on and agitated for a sped-up schedule. He met with Van Donzel in early September 1990 and it was one of the items discussed.[94] Perhaps having heard that the editors, of whom the majority was still actively teaching, could only do so much, he approached the question of the encyclopedia's viability with a letter to UNESCO:

> Brill is the publisher of the Encyclopaedia of Islam, a reference work that was set up in 1948 by an international group of scholars. Each year 256 pages of this Encyclopaedia appear, which are then bound in a volume of some 1000 pages. It is obvious that the Encyclopaedia has a very long life cycle. It is at present halfway to completion. That took some 40 years.
>
> To keep the Encyclopaedia safe in the next 40 years, I would like to look into whether UNESCO funding is possible. The Encyclopaedia's financial health is sound at present but speeding up its rate of appearance would, in human terms, be desirable. The current occupancy makes that difficult, and therefore a problem of occupancy and financing is in the cards.[95]

A UNESCO solution did not materialize and at the March 1991 editorial meeting, Pruijt urged the editorial board to pick up the pace, reviving the idea of four (double) fascicules (per language) annually, and slid a written contract under their noses to this effect. Despite his commercial side, Pruijt was truly interested in the encyclopedia project, and not only as moneymaker for the company—he had an abiding interest in history and was curious about scholarship and what drove scholars. Whereas the editorial board had seen very little of Backhuys, Pruijt more than made up for the past decade's lack of executive interest. He began attending the editorial meetings, now increased to three a year, and soon the Brill presence there went from one—Dijkema—to three—Pruijt, Lizzy Venekamp, Brill's editorial director, and Bearman (who soon under Pruijt's watch replaced Dijkema as Brill publisher for the encyclopedia; fig. 14). The executive presence and monopoly of the dinner conversation—Pruijt had a tendency to steer the talk to business matters—were tolerated. The editor most averse to change, Pellat, had only this to say about what was afoot:

94. Pruijt to Van Donzel, September 4, 1990.

95. Pruijt to G. J. Lijbrandt, Chair of the National UNESCO Commission, September 19, 1990. It is possible that UNESCO was approached on account of recurring angst that a Republican Congress in the United States would slash the funds that the encyclopedia received from the NEH.

> We will have many questions to discuss with regard to the new organization that M. Dijkema explained to me during his visit here.[96]

while in his autobiography he noted that,

> Had we had a substantial budget at our disposal from the beginning, we would perhaps have been able to finish the undertaken work more quickly, but we had to deal with contributors who did not always have the time to do the research in order to write original articles, and with the printing house Brill that, over-extended, often made us wait for the appearance of a fascicule.[97]

The printing operations, according to Pellat, "could never keep up with the rate [of six 64-page fascicules a year], even after adopting in 1965 the quicker formula of 128-page double fascicules and more recently a modern technique that allows for a printed book in a remarkably short time."[98]

The early years of the 1990s brought a number of unforeseen changes. Not only had Bearman taken over the publishing responsibilities at E. J. Brill from Dijkema, but Pellat died after a short sickbed on October 28, 1992, and Pruijt died suddenly and grievously at the age of forty-eight from a massive heart attack on December 5, 1993. The encyclopedia transition was smooth, as Gérard Lecomte had been waiting in the wings as successor since his appointment in 1970 and understood the encyclopedia intimately (fig. 15); the transition at Brill less so. After six months of an interim director in the figure of the supervisory chairman Joost Kist,[99] Reinout Kasteleijn (1946–2010)—until 1993 the director of commercial affairs on the stock exchange—was appointed director as of July 1, 1994. He would also die young, but not in the saddle—he retired after ten years, early in 2004, in the midst of the battle against the cancer that would ultimately take him. With less of an affinity for the niche Brill had carved out for itself, Kasteleijn led Brill primarily with an eye to commercial success. Two major business decisions that he made a few years into his term were characteristic of the general lack of nostalgia that permeated the new directorship: the first was to radically change the name from E. J. Brill N.V.[100]

96. Pellat to Van Donzel (assumed from the heading "Mon cher ami"), January 25, 1991.

97. Pellat, *Une vie d'arabisant*, 150–51.

98. Ibid., 151.

99. Joost Kist (1929–2011) had a long career in Dutch publishing, retiring in 1990 as former vice-president and member of the board of directors of Wolters Kluwer. He was the author of inter alia *New Thinking for 21st-Century Publishers: Emerging Patterns and Evolving Strategies* (Oxford, 2009), and a book about his collection of Near Eastern cylinder seals, *Ancient Near Eastern Seals from the Kist Collection*, appeared with Brill in 2003. An obituary was published in *Boekblad* (September 8, 2011).

100. E. J. Brill N.V. itself was a new appellation, changed by Pruijt from N.V. Boekhandel en Drukkerij voorheen E. J. Brill after he sold off the antiquariaat (*boekhandel*) and printing (*drukkerij*) operations, but it kept the founder's initials, stemming from 1683. As "Koninklijke" is a mouthful for non-Dutch speakers, Brill's English name is Brill Academic Publishers.

to Koninklijke Brill N.V. (lit. Royal Brill Co., on account of the publishing house having been given the royal predicate by Queen Beatrix in 1997) and the second was to move Brill shares to the Amsterdam stock exchange when the "unofficial market" (*incourante markt*)—where it had been since becoming a public limited company in 1896—threatened to be abolished.[101] The marketing and sales departments took the esteemed place that the acquisitions editors had assumed under Pruijt; their fleeting moment of top billing at the publishing company had passed.

Although the hopeful appearance of four annual fascicules in each language was not realized, it being too much work for all concerned, a happy compromise was attained at three per year, and between 1991 and 1995 three volumes—6, 7, and 8—were published. In addition, a compilation by Van Donzel of quick and easy information from the first and second editions intended for the nonspecialist, entitled *Islamic Desk Reference*, was published and presented to the public by Brill in September 1994. From the ten embassies from Muslim countries in The Hague, five ambassadors chose to attend the function;[102] this evidence of encyclopedia fame among Muslims then ranked second in the editors' repertoire of encyclopedia anecdotes, the first having been taken by its mention in V. S. Naipaul's travelogue *Among the Believers*:

> My own scholar, the man who had been transferred to Tehran and was packing and had migraine and was flat on his back, still had his migraine.
>
> He said: "You know the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*? A Dutch publication. It will give you all the information you want about Islam and Mashhad."
>
> Migraine or no, I didn't think I had come to Mashhad to be told to go away and read an old book.[103]

Headway had begun to be made at the publishing firm for digitizing the encyclopedia in advance of a third edition: the completion of the second edition made the administration nervous. The investment required for digitization, however, made Kasteleijn as nervous. Bearman had learned early on that her idea of an encyclopedia of modern Islam to complement the second edition, which traditionally did not cover contemporary topics or times, was already a work in progress with rival publishers—one would later appear

101. This third-tier market, established by the official stock exchange for small companies, was made up of some sixty companies. Above it was the parallel market, for larger companies but ones still too small for the stock exchange. See the article "Rariteitenkabinet op effectenbeurs redt het vege lijf," *Provinciale Zeeuwse Krant*, June 30, 1997. For the existence of these unofficial markets, see Sebastian Rasch, "Special Stock Market Segments for Small Company Shares in Europe—What Went Wrong?" Discussion Paper no. 94–13, Zentrum für Europäische Wirtschaftsforschung (Centre for European Economic Research) (April 1994), accessible online at http://ftp.zew.de/pub/zew-docs/dp (doc. no. 9413).

102. Interim Performance Report on NEH grant ER-21242-91, Heinrichs to Martha Chomiak, Program Officer, NEH, February 26, 1995.

103. V. S. Naipaul, *Among the Believers: An Islamic Journey* (New York, 1981), 71.

with Oxford University Press and with Macmillan Publishers[104]—and she was intent on preparing for a third, online edition. Since the published encyclopedia volumes did not lend themselves to scanning—multiple photomechanical reprints had not improved legibility—it was decided to double-type the text; typing mistakes would then be found when the two texts were compared electronically. To balance the costs of digitization, Bearman proposed publishing a CD-Rom of the second edition; she argued that subscribers to the print edition could be tempted with a discounted price while new subscribers—mostly individuals—could be lured to the encyclopedia through the electronic version, if not priced too high. She also argued that the digitization of the second edition was an investment, meant to facilitate an electronic version of the third edition, which would recover the expense after only a few years. She and Kasteleijn could not agree, however—he was wary of an electronic version and its conjectured success, did not trust her estimated numbers of new subscribers, did not approve of a discounted rate for subscribers or an attractive rate for new subscribers, and insisted that the costs of digitization be covered by an immediate price increase of the printed volume. Weary of the micro-management, Bearman resigned effective November 1, 1997. The CD-Rom, which Brill did publish—the first included volumes one through nine and appeared at the end of 1999—went on to become a high selling item.[105] Each iteration was an improvement over the last. The irony was that the CD-Rom as a technological medium itself had a short shelf-life; it was soon overtaken by online capability, which Brill—and the users—embraced heartily.

The production of the print encyclopedia continued unabated. Although on the whole very reliable, the fairly automated process could become muddled, complicated by the sheer amount of content:

> After I sent you the update in which I said that the English fascicule 179–180 would in all likelihood appear in October, that is, according to plan, I saw that two articles were missing in the corrected proofs. Both had been submitted. After some hasty detective work and a bunch of telephone calls, it appears that the one was so long (some twenty times longer than asked for) that we had asked for a shortened version. It seems that the author (a French lady) had sent the shortened version only to [Bianquis], and the consequences were as to be expected. The second article was waiting for additions from [Heinrichs], which never came, whereby the article wasted away in a corner and was never edited.

104. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, ed. John Esposito (Oxford, 1995) and *Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East*, ed. Reeva S. Simon, Philip Mattar, and Richard Bulliet (New York, 1996) respectively.

105. As of September 29, 1999, there were 1,200 prepublication subscribers to the CD-Rom. Jan-Peter Wissink, Brill Islam editor, to Bearman, September 29, 1999. Although there were some glitches in the beginning, the CD-ROM was widely welcomed, e.g., Muzaffar Iqbal, in *Islamic Studies* 40 (2001), 327–29; Albrecht Hofheinz, at http://folk.uio.no/albrech (under Writings > Online Publications).

> Nobody noticed that there were never proofs of an article that was submitted three years ago.[106]

Lapses by the editors were matched by those on the publishing side—among others, somehow volume nine slipped past a production editor's eagle eye and was published with a misprint on its cover[107] and the illustrations accompanying the article Ṭimūrids, in fascicule 171–172, were too light and hazy[108]—but the end drew inexorably near with few, if anyone, outside the inner circle knowing anything of production or other troubles.

With the second edition finishing up, Brill faced the feared black hole where steady income had always been. It planned the third edition to immediately follow upon the heels of the second, whereby the second edition became a footnote while it was still in progress, dismaying the editors. Exhausted by the rigors of the work and exasperated by the demands imposed by Brill's budgetary schedule and the many personnel changes at the firm—in the seven years after Bearman left until the final French volume was published, the editors contended with six different acquisitions editors and two directors—none of the editors chose to continue, which freed Brill to appoint its own editorial board for the third edition and begin on a new footing.

2. Production Process

All of the first edition and half of the second edition of the encyclopedia were typeset in moveable lead type, a process of composition that was perfected and first used in Europe by Johann Gutenberg (d. 1468), whose famous bible, printed ca. 1455, is his best-known work. Thanks to the limited alphabet of European languages—as opposed to, e.g., Korean, where metal type was first invented but remained a very costly affair—metal type enabled the printing industry in Europe to quickly gather speed.[109] Books now could be produced on an industrial scale, even though until the seventeenth century they were still mostly accessible only to the more wealthy; until the nineteenth century they remained unbound and were hand pressed.

After Gutenberg, further developments in typesetting were slow to appear and four hundred years later, metal type was still being produced by hand, in a laborious proce-

106. Email Bearman to Hoffstädt, August 4, 2000.

107. Interim Performance Report on NEH grant RT-21544-94, Heinrichs to Martha Chomiak, Program Officer, NEH, January 30, 1998.

108. Email Bearman to Editors, July 14, 1999. It was requested that they be redone for the French fascicule and the volume.

109. Text in Korea and China was stamped with individual engraved characters; use of the printing press, as well as "the serial production of type," was a European invention. Eva Hanebutt-Benz, "Introduction: The Beginnings of Letterpress Printing in the West," in *Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution: A Cross-Cultural Encounter*, ed. E. Hanebutt-Benz, F. Glass, and G. Roper (Westhofen, 2002), 2.

dure of punch-cutting letters on metal in relief, striking said relief onto copper to make a matrix, filing it to fit the required dimensions of height, thickness, and alignment, then filling the mold with metal, ejecting the piece of type after casting, and refiling and rubbing smooth for reuse.[110] In 1811, the process was sped up considerably with the invention of the trigger mold, which eliminated the need for manual ejecting of the cast type—an "improvement [that] almost doubled the speed of production to some 800 medium-sized castings in an hour."[111] Nevertheless, when it came time to produce the encyclopedia at the turn of the century, the process was still a very slow one—compositors chose from boxes one metal letter at a time,[112] positioned it by hand on the line in a tray, adding space type (a piece of fixed space, of different measurement) where necessary, until the tray was full. Lines were justified by adding spaces within the line. The full tray was then added to a long tray, known as the galley, which when full became the page. Pages were then put within a frame that was printed. Although a revolutionary automated machine that produced a line of metal letters by way of a keyboard and built-in matrixes had been invented in 1884 by Ottmar Mergenthaler, a German watchmaker relocated to Baltimore, Maryland, E. J. Brill was slow to upgrade its typesetting operations. Not until 1934 would the publishing firm change from manual to mechanical typesetting.[113] A favorite mantra of the director Peltenburg, who had to be nudged into retirement in 1934 by the supervisory board, was, "As long as I live, no typesetting machine in my business."[114]

Before the advent of machines at Brill, Wieder began his publishing career in Brill's typesetting room filled with ancient presses, and recalls the printing operations thus:

> In 1928 Brill already consisted of departments devoted to printing and publishing, and a bookshop that sold both new and antiquarian books. These various departments had all been at the Oude Rijn 33a since 1883, when the firm moved from the Rapenburg. One of the older printers remembered this vividly. He told me that the equipment had all been transported by barge and the flywheel of one of the presses had disappeared into a canal.

110. For the technical aspects of metal typesetting, I have drawn liberally from James Moran, *The Composition of Reading Matter: A History from Case to Computer* (London, 1965). For a study of the (British) compositor of moveable type and the profession's status, see Patrick Duffy, *The Skilled Compositor, 1850–1914: An Aristocrat among Working Men* (Aldershot, UK, 2000); for an anthropological study of twentieth-century American letterpress compositors, see Maggie Holtzberg-Call, *The Lost World of the Craft Printer* (Urbana, IL, 1992).

111. Moran, *Composition of Reading Matter*, 13.

112. Not only letters, in capital and lower-case forms, but also punctuation marks, letters in combination (ligatures), and commonly used abbreviations, etc. were cast. Hanebutt-Benz, "Introduction," 2.

113. Van der Veen, *Brill: 325 jaar uitgeven*, 99.

114. Ibid.

The printing department was on the first and second floors of the building on the Oude Rijn. This had been built in the 18th century as the Holy Ghost Orphanage for the Poor, and had two wings—the one occupied by Brill on the Oude Rijn, and another one on the Hooglandsche Kerkgracht, which was still in use as an orphanage. We were consequently regaled on washdays by the cheerful songs of young girls in the courtyard below.

[...]

And so one day the Director entrusted me to the head of the printing department. I was immediately put in the composing room and given a piece of text to set, so that I would learn the arrang[e]ment of the letters in the case; it was only when you had mastered that then you could learn distributing, or replacing the type in the case after use.

Composing machines had of course been in use for some time, but not in Brill's printing house—everything was there still set by hand. There were four compositors at work on the three editions of the Encyclopaedia of Islam, and specialists for the various periodicals—a "Taalkunde" [linguistics] man (Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal en Letterkunde), a "Aardrijkskunde" [geography] man (Tijdschrift van het Kon. Ned. Aard. Gen.) and the legendary compositor of Chinese for the T'oung Pao, who was then 70. Whenever copy came for "Aardrijkskunde", five compositors at once were set to work on it—it was after all important that this journal should appear speedily. Another important task was the composition and printing of the "Leidsch Predikbeurtenblad," a weekly for the Leiden congregation of the Dutch Reformed Church.

An elderly rounds man would call on the ministers every Wednesday for copy and this was set up in type—usually by apprentices—on Wednesdays and Thursdays under the watchful eye of an older compositor; who personally set the advertisements in the most hideous old letter we had. The head of the printing department, a staunch Lutheran, supervised the proceedings, and if the learned ministers of religion neglected to supply sufficient material, he wrote a few paragraphs himself. The paper was printed on Friday afternoon and then the apprentices's weekly treat began, as they were allowed to fold it. By now the boys were waiting to deliver the paper throughout the city.

There was a striking difference in atmosphere between the composingroom and the press-room. The compositors did of course crack a joke now and then (and 'the boys' were just as mischievous as those of today), but they seemed much more serious than the printers, who had more varied work and were, perhaps because of this, rather livelier.

The presses were all quite old. There was one from 1897 and the newest had been bought in 1911. One of them was of most unusual construction; the frame was set in motion by a large pinion that ran round the inside of an horizontal internal gear about three feet in diameter. The man on this machine naturally informed me that a printer at another printing house had tumbled into just such a press and been reduced to minced meat.

In those days it was no longer the custom to wet the paper before printing and to hang it up to dry like so much washing afterward, but we continued to

> press the printed sheets to remove the indentation till the war. This was especially necessary with editions of Arabic texts, since heavier than normal impression was used to ensure that no gaps appeared between the letters.
>
> Great care was (and is) taken with the printing of illustrations. The fine points of overlaying—or pasting cut-outs of the darker parts of a plate onto the cylinder packing to give a heavier impression—were explained to me by my teacher.
>
> This unforgettable apprenticeship in the printing house lasted eight months. After that I attended the school of printing in Utrecht for two years and then began a new apprenticeship in the house of Brill.[115]

Although not applicable for the encyclopedia, which only occasionally required the odd character not in Roman script, Brill's non-Roman script typesetters were famed. The revised edition of Herbert Giles's *A Chinese-English Dictionary* (1912) was typeset at E. J. Brill's, although the Shanghai-based publisher, Kelly and Walsh, looked all over the East for a firm that could handle the work. Peltenburg is acknowledged in the preface along with J. P. van Duuren, the senior typesetter of Chinese, who for four years supervised, and probably helped typeset, the Chinese for the massive two volumes. When he was asked by Peltenburg whether there were many typing errors, Giles answered, "Maybe in English, but definitely not in Chinese." Van Duuren had learned the Chinese characters from Gustav Schlegel, the first professor of Chinese at Leiden University, who taught them to him a few hours every week. The professor would draw them on the blackboard and Van Duuren would copy them and learn them by heart at home. In six weeks, he had them down. He kept a list of the characters, which increased as new words—airplane, radio—found their way into the language, in a well-thumbed notebook, some seventeen thousand combinations of them, the lead types of which filled 214 drawers.[116]

A few other typesetters who worked with lead type are also known by name. Willem Hendrik Kloos was an Arabic compositor, and in 1927, when the journalist M. J. Brusse published a description of him, he was the oldest Arabic compositor at E. J. Brill and had worked there in that capacity for forty-eight years.[117] Although he had experience only with Greek letters when he began his employ at Brill's, in 1879, he was put to work on

115. Wieder, "*Tuta sub aegide Pallas* in Former Times," 1–2. Since the catalogue is not easily traceable, I chose to reproduce the two pages of remembrance in full—the missing paragraph was quoted above, n29.

116. Brusse, "De Uitgeverij," 41–42 (see n33, above). The Chinese font used at Brill was "both larger and clearer than that used for the first edition," wrote Giles in his preface to the second edition. Herbert A. Giles, *A Chinese-English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (London, 1912), ix.

117. Brusse, "De Uitgeverij," 61–63. See also Arnoud Vrolijk, "'The Usual Leiden Types': A Compositor's Personal Account of Brill's Arabic Printing in the Late 19th and Early 20th Century," in *Books and Bibliophiles: Studies in Honour of Paul Auchterlonie on the Bio-Bibliography of the Muslim World*, ed. Robert Gleave (Cambridge, 2014), 119–32.

Dozy's *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, which kept him busy for three years. He then took on the typesetting of De Goeje's edition of al-Ṭabarī's *Annales*, for which edition a special letter—the Beirut type—was purchased at De Goeje's request. De Goeje had not realized the limitations this letter brought with it, however—unlike the standard American system, the Beirut type had "800 to 900 different types, which were necessary to imitate the Arabic script" and the vowels had to be fit in manually. That was a bit much for a Dutch compositor who knew no Arabic. When Count Landberg submitted his manuscript on Arabic proverbs to the publisher, a Syrian compositor was brought to E. J. Brill to set it with the Beirut letter type. Kloos worked with him and when the Syrian left after a year, he was able to set the last six quires of the manuscript on his own.[118]

Some names of Arabic typesetters in the generations following Kloos are known to us through celebrations of their jubilees at Brill, or when an interview at E. J. Brill—always of interest because of its exotic business—was sought by the local Leiden newspaper. Two typesetters who were likely trained by Kloos celebrated their fortieth year at Brill in 1961 and 1962 respectively. The first was A. G. Schipper, who was the "oldest of the Arabic typesetters" in 1963. His first task had been to typeset the encyclopedia, at which he spent a few years before moving on to volumes requiring the Arabic script.[119] The second was J. Robbers, who began his Brill career at thirteen.[120] The line was continued by Ton Copier, who in 1983 had worked nineteen years at Brill, the last twelve typesetting Arabic. He often thought of leaving in the beginning ("Gosh, it was difficult, you know, keeping all the characters apart. You've got the Kaf, the Elaf, and a lot more. A couple of times I had no idea what to do").[121]

Another celebrated compositor caught the attention of a young student of Chinese at Leiden in 1947, who was tasked by his professor to run errands between his department and Brill's offices on the Oude Rijn. P. W. Martijn, who was the last of a line of master typesetters of Chinese extending back to Van Duuren in 1875, and thus to Gustav Schlegel, is colorfully described as "moving between his type cases like a Taoist priest performing a dancing ritual" as he went about his work. Although "Sino-Japanese char-

118. For Count Landberg, see chapter one, above. The Syrian typesetter, whose name was not given, had had to flee Damascus on account of revolutionary literature against the Ottomans that he had helped disseminate. He worked in Paris before coming to Leiden. Other works that Kloos typeset were the fourteen-volume *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* by Ibn Saʿd al-Baghdādī (ed. E. Sachau, 1904–21); when he was interviewed by Brusse, Kloos was typesetting his last work before retirement, Ibn Awfī's *Jawāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* (1929).

119. *Leidsch Dagblad*, March 8, 1961, 9.

120. *Leidsch Dagblad*, October 4, 1962, 3.

121. "He took over the work [of setting Arabic] from a man who had set Syriac and Arabic by hand. [...] 'What my predecessor knew, he taught me everything. The names of the characters, that kind of thing.'" *Leidsch Dagblad*, September 8, 1983, 4.

acters were his favourite," Martijn worked with a dozen scripts, including hieroglyphs.[122] He began his career as a typesetter at the age of twelve, working twelve-hour days, and ten years later came to Brill where Van Duuren, who at seventy was hoping to retire, taught him how to manage the 20,000 Chinese character set.[123]

None of the typesetters had any knowledge of the language they were producing on the page—in fact, Martijn "was discouraged from learning more about them, as this was supposed to increase the number of his mistakes."[124] Ignorance clearly did not equal incompentence in this case: despite not knowing a word of Arabic, Kloos could immediately see when Arabic typesetting was wrong, as he did once at an exhibit, whereupon he reset it after notifying De Goeje of the problem.[125] While the spoken language was just "hissing" to Van Duuren's ears, Brusse notes that, nevertheless, "he usually understands what the text he was typesetting was about, because he understood some of the characters, such as sun, moon, stars, fire, water, air, people, animals, etc."[126]

Although the mechanized production introduced in 1934 may have eased the compositors' burden, the monotype machines that replaced the strictly manual labor did not expedite matters for the encyclopedia. As noted, the early years of the second edition were characterized by regular attempts to improve the manuscript-to-print process. Various modifications were incorporated, each more promising but ultimately as disappointing as the last. Correspondence dating from early 1953 through March 1956 detail how cumbersome the entire process was, while the 1955 editorial report is completely devoted to "the still experimental stage of the technical organization of the work."

> For the production of Fasc. 1, the method adopted was to reproduce all articles in typescript for the final approval of the authors. This proved to be a most unsatisfactory method, which multiplied errors at every stage. After discussion with the representatives of Messrs. Brill, it was agreed that, beginning with Fasc. 2, printed proofs of their articles in both languages should be made available to authors; in return, Messrs. Brill required that the materials supplied for first proofs should consist of all the articles to be included in the fascicule concerned, arranged in their proper alphabetical order, and without gaps.

122. E. Zürcher, in *Tuta sub aegide Pallas*, 62.

123. Interview with Martijn, on the occasion of his fortieth Brill anniversary, in *Nieuwe Leidsche Courant*, October 13, 1962; see also *Leidsch Dagblad*, October 4, 1962, 3.

124. Zürcher, in *Tuta sub aegide Pallas*, 62.

125. "Zoo had hij nog eens op een tentoonstelling een pagina Arabischen druk gezien waarvan hij als typo dadelijk begreep dat het klinklare nonsens was, en die hij, na zijn bevinding aan Prof. de Goeje te hebben meegedeeld, dan ook helemaal heeft overgezet." Brusse, "De Uitgeverij, 63. It is not specified what type of exhibit (*tentoonstelling*) Kloos visited.

126. Brusse, "De Uitgeverij," 42.

> The assembling of all articles in alphabetical order for the stage of first proofs inevitably involved delays, even when in practice it was found necessary to make allowance for a small number of insertions at a later stage. Further delays were caused by the practice of printing the first proofs in one of the two languages first, and afterwards in the other, instead of simultaneously; and since four sheets can hardly be printed, cut up and distributed to authors for their corrections, received back from them and passed through the page proofs in less than three months, the fact that these operations had to be carried out first for the one and then for the other edition almost doubled the interval between the issue of fascicules.
>
> In October 1954, a firm arrangement was reached with Messrs. Brill that the proof sheets in both languages would be printed as nearly as possible simultaneously, beginning with Fasc. 5. By the middle of 1955, however, it had become abundantly clear to the Editors that, at the present stage of operations, the maintenance of the principle of final alphabetical order for first proofs was the major cause of delay; since the rhythm of production would inevitably continue to be irregular in the production of proofs, and delays could not be avoided when every article had to be corrected after the production of first fascicule proofs.
>
> At their meeting at Leiden in July 1955, therefore, the Editors re-examined the whole situation with Professor Posthumus. It was thereafter agreed that for an experimental period of at least a year, Messrs. Brill would maintain a regular monthly output of first (or galley) proofs, without regard to the alphabetical order of the entries, in order to build up in both languages a reserve of articles already revised by their authors. Henceforward all articles received from contributors are to be sent through the Leiden Bureau to Messrs. Brill, to be set up in proof, and after translation and revision by the authors will be held until required. As a result of this method, the Editors hope to ensure that the materials for each fascicule will be supplied at regular intervals to Messrs. Brill, complete and without lacunae, and to an increasing extent already revised by the authors. It will thus be possible to have each fascicule set up immediately in page proof. If this system works reasonably smoothly, it is expected to maintain the rate of issue for the ensuing years at four fascicules a year.[127]

The promise of improvement within the year did not contain Schacht, who remained frustrated at the slow pace. Unpacified, he began an exchange (in English) in March 1956 with a curt letter. The following correspondence is insightful not only for the battle of wills, but also for the lessons it imparts about the different viewpoints regarding the production of the encyclopedia:

127. Report of the Editorial Committee, July 1955.

Dear Mr. Wieder,

I notice that we have received no galleys of all the English articles sent to your Firm since 9th November 1955. They must amount to several 'blocks' now. The whole point of our present arrangement was that we should send you the articles as they came in, and you should compose them and send out the galleys to the several editorial offices as soon as you have got enough copy to fill a half-'block', even if there are gaps in the alphabetical order. This is essential if the proofs are to be read by contributors and editors in time and well ahead of the pageing, so that we can increase the speed of publication. Otherwise we shall never be able to build up a sufficient reserve of articles, and the work will always proceed by fits and starts with interminable delays.

For instance, the articles which you have got now comprise the main body of fasc.7. There ought to have been a continuous stream of composed galley back to Oxford (with copies to Leiden, Paris and Harvard) since November; if we get them all together now, almost four previous months will have been lost, in which most of them could have been read by the authors and editors, and if there is a delay it will have resulted exclusively in your composing room. Please remember that none of us can work 24 hours or even 8 hours per day for a week on the Encyclopaedia.

I should be very grateful if you would consider this carefully, have the stream of English galley started as soon as possible (I am glad to acknowledge that it is better with the French text), and see to it that it is kept up for both languages in the future.[128]

Doing his best to keep his own frustrated feelings under wraps, Wieder answered:

Dear Professor Schacht,

I have paid my toll to the influenza and so I could not – much to my regret – answer you earlier to your letter of March 1st, 1956.

I have now investigated into the matter which you discussed in your letter and I beg to inform you as follows:

Modern methods of composition on the Monotype-machine require that one machine should handle a manuscript as continuously as possible without having to change its character and the size of the page. For this reason, when manuscripts of the Encyclopaedia are coming in, we are composing first the language for which the machine has been installed. You will remark that the size of the page and the character is the same in both editions of the Encyclopaedia but there is a rather large difference in the matrices which we have to use. Many accents, which occur in the French language, are not needed for the English language and these much be changed, as well on the typingboard as on the casting-machine.

128. Schacht to Wieder, March 1, 1956.

> So it has happened that first the French manuscripts have been composed until yet, and then only we start with the composition of the English manuscripts. This means there has been a delay of 6 weeks from November the 9th before we started with the composition of the English. That you did not receive proofs earlier than in the beginning of this month, is a result of the fact that there has been some delay during the last month in our composing- as well as our proofreadingroom, by illness of our people. Normally you should have received these proofs earlier.
>
> In the meantime you will have received all the proofs of the English articles which you claimed in your letter. For the future we have now decided in the first place to compose the English articles with preference when they arrive and in the second place to change to the other language in shorter intervals so that you will receive more regularly the gallies of both editions. I very much hope that the result might be a quicker return of the gallies for pageproofs. I am informed by our composingroom that at this moment we have gallies as far as fascicule 9, as only the 6th fascicule has been returned for pageproofs.[129]

Stymied by Lévi-Provençal's unexpected death and Stern's hostile resignation, Schacht only answered on June 19:

> Dear Mr. Wieder,
> I received today the following batch of French galleys:
>
AMIR AL-MUSLIMIN	MS sent to you 13-2-1956
ALI RIDA AL-ʿABBASI, ALTAÏ, ALTAI, ALTI-SHEHIR, AL-ʿAMIDI, AMIN, AMR	MSS sent to you 13-3-1956
ALTUNSHAH, AMAN (MIR), AMANAT	MSS sent to you 4-4-1946[130]
ʿAMADIYA, ʿAMID, ʿAMID AL-DIN AL-ABHARI, ʿAMIR B. AL-TUFAYL AMIR, AMIR AKHUR, AMIR DAD, AL-AMIR AL-KABIR, AMIR MADJLIS, AMIR AL-MU'MININ, AMIR SILAH, AMIR AL-UMARA', ʿAMMAR (BANU), ʿAMR B. AL-LAYTH	MSS sent to you 9-4-1956
ʿALI KHAN, AL-AMIR	MSS sent to you 13-4-1956
ʿAMMĀN	MS sent to you 20-4-1956
ʿAMR B. AL-ʿAS, ʿAMR B. LUHAYY, ANADOLU (I, II)	MSS sent to you 24-4-1956

> You will notice that the printing of this batch, which amounts to 32 columns, has taken practically two months (from 24th April to 19th June), and I am afraid the completion of fasc.7, to which all these articles belong, will suffer a corresponding delay. Now the galleys will have to be sent to the authors and will have to be corrected in Paris. I had hoped that after our last exchange of ideas on how to print the Encyclopaedia so speedily as possible, these delays would be

129. Wieder to Schacht, March 24, 1956.
130. Sic, but clearly a typing error for 1956.

obviated, but this has been apparently not yet the case, and I should be grateful to you if you would again look personally into the matter.[131]

Schacht was not allowed the last word:

Dear Professor Schacht,

Thank you for your letter of June 19, 1956 complaining on the delay which has occurred in the composition of several articles of the Encyclopaedia of Islam.

I agree with you that especially the oldest articles have been a long time under way. Whether however the completion of fascicle VII will suffer a corresponding delay, is another question. I have been informed by Mr. Lek, that several other articles of this fascicle are missing and as long as these have not been received, in manuscript, it is not possible to bring this fascicle into pages.

Our will to cooperate with you to avoid delays in the publication of the parts of the Encyclopaedia is without discussion, but on the other hand we must keep an open eye on an economic employment of our printing office. This is in these times the more necessary as wages are rising with increasing speed. Under these circumstances every hour, which is spent needless, means a loss. If we have to compose one article of the Encyclopaedia separately we have to change the keyboard, as well as the casting machine of the Monotype. The time for every change is a pure loss. If we had composed the batches of article mentioned in your letter, when they were coming in,[132] we could have to pay seven times this loss. If separate manuscripts are coming in, when one of our machine[s] is typing already on the Encyclopaedia, there is no trouble at all in composing that separate article at once. Since much to our regret, it is not possible to keep one keyboard constantly composing the Encyclopaedia, we must make a compromise for the separate articles.

I would be very glad if you, on your return to Leiden, would pay a visit to our printing office so that I may show you how the composition is done.

I will see to it that the composition of separate articles is speeded up as far as possible, but I would ask your cooperation in indicating when separate manuscripts, which you are sending to us, are of really the very last articles of a fascicle so that immediate composition means indeed that the publication of the relative fascicle will not be delayed any longer. I realize that the answer which I give you may not be quite satisfactory but running a printing office

131. Schacht to Wieder, June 19, 1956. A letter from Schacht to Gibb a week earlier has him complaining: "Keeping Brill up to scratch is a job that never ends, and it is not made easier by the fact that I must speak to Posthumus not only as to a businessman but as to a colleague in the Netherlands Academy."

132. Schacht could not contain himself, putting an asterisk here and writing in the margin of his copy: "the point is, that a batch sufficient for 32 columns was ready on 24-4, and that it has taken Brill 2 months to compose this." The difficulty Wieder outlined of not being able to set aside a machine for only the encyclopedia or to typeset both languages upon demand seems to have been lost on Schacht.

> nowadays means to be very careful to lose hours. It is not what it was before the war when these things did not matter so much as they do nowadays.[133]

Four years later, little had changed. Too few manuscripts were sent by the editors, according to Wieder, for proper use of the monotype machine available for the encyclopedia.

> This machine has a normal production [capacity] of 2,100 hours per year. In 1958 this machine worked 1,908 hours for the encyclopedia, meaning that almost all of the machine's available time was given over to the encyclopedia. In 1959 this same machine, with the same typesetter, worked only 1,425 hours for the encyclopedia, a decrease of almost 500 hours, which, I do not want to hide from you, is disappointing to me. In the past five months of 1960, production has increased a bit to 834 hours, but is still behind that of 1958. I apologise for having to always insist on more rapid progress with regard to the preparation of manuscripts.[134]

In his reply "on behalf of the editorial committee," Schacht shifted the blame to Stern, now four years removed, for the difference in manuscript submission ("we must point out that the year 1958 was exceptional in this respect, because at that time we were able to send for composition all those manuscripts which had been held back by the former Secretary General, and we returned to a more normal rhythm in 1959"[135]).

Despite the peevishness sometimes on display, the editors were well aware that the production of the encyclopedia was not a gargantuan task for them alone. Although they themselves had little experience of the actual mountain of work moved at E. J. Brill to produce each fascicule, the editorial secretaries De Bruijn and Van Donzel did. They liaised in particular with J. A. Breedeveld, a former printer at Brill's, who after being badly injured in the war had been put in charge of the administrative side of handling the manuscripts and proofs and had been occupied with the encyclopedia from the planning of the second edition on. At Van Donzel's suggestion in 1969, Schacht agreed that a token of appreciation be given—upon the completion of volume three, two gift certificates were presented him, for his collection of "classical gramophone records and books of general culture."[136]

Slow manuscript submission, slow proof production, mislaid manuscripts, postal "go-slows"—all of these obstacles fill letters in the 1960s and 1970s. Perhaps because of his close cooperation with the publisher's production department, Van Donzel raised a

133. Wieder to Schacht, June 25, 1956.

134. Wieder to the Editors, June 9, 1960.

135. Schacht to Wieder, July 1, 1960.

136. Van Donzel to Schacht, April 17 and June 20, 1969. The *f*200 for the gift certificates were taken out of the encyclopedia's Leiden account. For a note on the celebration of Breedeveld's forty-year Brill career in 1963, see *Leidsch Dagblad*, February 1, 1963, 5.

complaint on their behalf, which was answered by a description of the minutiae of the process undertaken in 1967 with regard to English manuscripts and proofs in a letter from John Burton-Page, the English editorial secretary, who was resistant to the idea that the English procedure could be altered:

> I was interested in your suggestion that we might reduce the number of proofs, but the comparison between our practice and the practice in the U.S.A. is not quite valid. In England and the States, the press has a qualified staff of efficient proof readers and sub-editors, so that an author submitting a manuscript can be confident that the press will produce a text free of misprints and, if anything, improved for style. As far as we are concerned, numbers 3 and 4 (i.e.. the page proofs which we read and the final proof which you read) are concerned with the elimination of surviving misprints.
>
> As for hand-written additions on galleys and column proofs, a certain number of these are inevitable in connection with a scientific work of the size and scope of the Encyclopaedia. I am sure you will find that the majority of these additions are bibliographical references to newly published works or changes of substance necessitated by new publications. Furthermore, it is at column proof stage that the editors for the first time see the material assembled in a manageable form and make certain adjustments of balance. Many of our readers seem to forget that a double fascicule of 128 pages contains over 120,000 words, i.e. is far longer then the average book.
>
> I must confess that I am astounded by your sentence about the editors correcting manuscripts. Not infrequently several weeks elapse between our receiving a manuscript and forwarding it to Leiden. At the minimum I read each typescript, pass it to Professor Lewis, who also reads it, and then send it off. At the maximum it can travel backwards and forwards between us some five or six times, with both of us checking and adding references, and the text may be re-typed once or twice in this process in order that the compositors may not be confused by hand-written corrections. Not infrequently what may seem to be an uncorrected typescript is a second fair copy made by Miss Shore after weeks of working on our part. Similarly with translations. Our system is that I check each translation in manuscript before it is typed by Miss Shore. I then re-check, and pass it to Professor Lewis. Again, if he has made anything more than minor corrections, it is re-typed. I agree with you that it would be profitable to discuss this matter at our next meeting, but as you see, the difficulties which we suffer are not the result of slackness on the part of the editors.[137]

After Schacht's death in 1969, the brunt of the work of managing the production process fell upon Van Donzel, who was appointed a member of the editorial board in 1971. Little

137. [Burton-Page] to Van Donzel, June 9, 1967. The letter of June 1 to which Burton-Page was responding is missing.

written record of communication with the publisher is extant, and none that concerns problems of production—all communication would likely have been oral since both parties were in Leiden.

In 1983, the Arabic typesetter Copier was no longer using lead letters but "photographic typesetting" for Arabic.[138] For the encyclopedia, lead type was finally replaced by photo-offset as of January 1985; the last encyclopedia text to be typeset in monotype was fascicule 97–98, which completed volume five.[139] (For a page of type of the article Madagascar, see fig. 26.) Production had slowed considerably in 1984 due to the illness of the one compositor left to typeset the encyclopedia with lead type,[140] and there was hope that the change to photo-offset meant that "proof-reading [would] be less onerous and production speedier."[141] There were initial worries that the new offset process would lessen the readability of the already difficult to read letter—in offset printing, the text does not come into direct contact with the paper but through the medium of a roller—but the director Backhuys assured the nervous editors that there would be no noticeable difference in either the letter or the look of the encyclopedia.[142] Production did not speed up, however, with the new photo-offset method—despite the hopes that three fascicules for each language would appear annually, in 1986 one fascicule appeared (99–100) and in 1987 two (101–102, 103–104). The backlog was probably due in equal proportion to the production process and the still exceedingly cumbersome processing of the encyclopedia manuscripts, as follows:

In July 1971, it had been decided to transfer the secretarial work for the English edition from London to Leiden. With this change, due in no small part to the resignation of Ménage a year earlier, new guidelines for handling manuscripts and proofs were drafted. A big difference from earlier guidelines was that a neatly typed edited typescript took the place of a typeset galley proof. This step itself disappeared when the handwritten manuscript was truly a relic of the past and the marked-up edited typescript was used for typesetting straight to paged column proofs; from that moment, which took place around 1994, the process remained static until the end. But as of 1971, upon receipt in Leiden of the original manuscript,[143] which was preferably typed but often handwritten,

138. *Leidsch Dagblad*, September 8, 1983, 4.

139. As reported in "Semi-Annual Performance Report RT-20163-82," March 5, 1984 (the mention of fascicule 95–96 being the last in volume five was corrected in the "Semi-Annual Performance Report RT-20163-82" dated June 5, 1985).

140. "Significance of the Project," appended to letter from Van Donzel to Dorothy Wartenberg, NEH, November 6, 1984.

141. Dorothy Wartenberg, NEH, to Lewis, October 10, 1984.

142. Van Donzel to Backhuys, November 12, 1984; Backhuys to Van Donzel, December 6, 1984.

143. As per the guidelines, all English-office manuscripts were mailed to the attention of Van Donzel, care of E. J. Brill. A note at the end of the guidelines specifies that the publisher had the task of mailing invitations, manuscripts, and proofs back and forth—which were sent in Van Donzel's name. When

it was sent on to the English editor (in 1971, Lewis and Ménage, but in effect Ménage), a copy was sent to Paris for translation, and a copy was kept in Leiden. London would then send one copy of the edited manuscript back to Leiden and a second copy (marked-up for easy recognition of changes "with green ink") to Paris to be collated with the translation. Leiden would send the edited copy to be neatly typed on an IBM machine by a freelance typist—providing the handwriting and spelling of unknown terms and topography could be deciphered—to be followed by the French translation when received. The English IBMs ("with the word 'author' on the top left") would be sent from Leiden directly to the author for any corrections, and when returned, sent on to London for approval or further editing. When the English editor had approved the author-corrected IBM, he would send a full fascicule's worth of these to Paris, where the French IBMs would be adjusted to conform to the English, and then both French and English final versions of a fascicule would be sent on to Leiden. (The French process proceeded similarly, with the exception that manuscripts were sent to and processed in Paris without the publisher's mediation.)

At this time, the articles would be typeset. The IBMs had taken the place of galley proofs so that articles were directly set into pages and corrected only by the editors. The same process as with the final edited IBMs was followed: the English editor would send the packet of corrected page proofs to Paris, from where both corrected fascicules in proof—the French collating any English textual changes onto the French translation—would be sent to Leiden. Final page proofs were corrected in Leiden by Van Donzel.

The amount of paper required throughout the years was staggering; a guide stemming from 1965—and not differing much from later years—outlined the shipping numbers: in addition to four copies made of the edited manuscript (two for the other editorial office for translation purposes, one for the Leiden office, and one for the typesetter[144]), four sets of typescripts were sent to both the London and Paris offices, and two to Schacht in New York (on air-mail paper). Upon receipt of the complete set of corrected typescripts, via Paris, for a French and English fascicule, Brill would send a copy of each to Schacht, and wait for corrected pages (those that were not sent back were assumed to have no corrections). Then the shipping process was resumed for the column proofs—four to London and Paris and two to New York—and again with the page proofs. The last stage of page proof correction was done in Leiden.[145]

Bearman arrived on the scene in 1990, Van Donzel and Dijkema were accustomed to meeting weekly to take care of the encyclopedia, a practice that she ended immediately upon being given responsibility for it.

144. These were not xerox copies but a retyped copy with carbon copies.

145. The final page proof correction could itself require two or three stages, as was the case when Bearman began working at Brill in 1990. At this time, the process not yet computerized, a correction in a typeset line could alter the entire paragraph or page, requiring newly typeset text, which then could itself have a new mistake in it.

Although the encyclopedia administration took place in Leiden, there was no space reserved at E. J. Brill for administrative work, as promised in 1959, but there was a standing cabinet for storage, watched over by Breedeveld. Stored were:

> a number of books, archived material, and office supplies, such as the "Preliminary List of Articles" and stationery. This last-mentioned was made available for all the editorial offices by the firm Brill. There was also a typewriter, which was adapted for the transliteration system of the encyclopedia. The archived material that concerns the first edition of the encyclopedia has been put in the care of the librarian of the Legatum Warnerianum of the University Library in Leiden.[146]

As mentioned earlier, from the mid-1970s until the early 1990s, the Leiden editor met in Dijkema's office on a weekly basis to discuss the status of articles, either outstanding, in typescript, or in proof, and to issue directions. Such a courtly but old-fashioned procedure mirrored working methods encountered in January 1980 by Julian Deahl, whom Edridge brought in as project manager for the eventually doomed "Encyclopaedia of the Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation" and who shared Dijkema's office, albeit with a figurative line drawn across the floor that he was not to cross. In his description:

> At the beginning of my career at Brill, there were the old Dutch manners and the pre-electronic era where we had post-war mechanical typewriters which gave you powerful wrists and fingers (used till the old man who serviced them retired), carbon paper and paper files, a telex machine which I learned to use, comptometers, a Xerox machine reserved for Dijkema's use, which Trudy [Kamperveen, his secretary] got started before he came in and which managed ten copies before discharging smoke and blackened silver paper, and the hole in the floor of the editors' room through which we followed discussions in the boardroom one floor below, Dijkema's dictation machine (anno 1950) recording onto a shiny LP sized metal disk, and Trudy wearing WW2 fighter pilot headphones while typing out his letters and muttering at his tiny tinny distant voice.[147]

The 1990s, or more precisely, the age of the computer, brought simplification to the publishing industry, and hence to the encyclopedia's production method. For one, typescripts or galleys were no longer required. Since corrections to page proofs no longer

146. "Short overview of the work of the Leiden office of the Enc. of Islam," March 31, 1965. An inventory detailing the books, as well as a general description of the archived material (correspondence and proofs relating to the first volume, from the office in London; the list of entries for the second edition in seven boxes; and the indexes of the first edition in forty-one boxes) was appended to the overview.

147. Personal communication, slightly adjusted. Julian Deahl, who took over Edridge's editing responsibilities (see n75, above) upon the latter's death and became a fabulously productive acquisitions editor, retired from Brill in 2015.

meant that the entire page had to be retyped, with consequences for succeeding pages, an entire production stage that had been irreplaceable up until then could be omitted. For another, diacriticals were entered by the author on the manuscript—whether in complete sync with the chosen encyclopedia method or not—which meant that much of the finicky editing, and concomitant mistakes that had to be corrected at a second or third stage, could be avoided. In addition, the editors happily allowed proofing to be supervised by the Brill editor, which saved time and effort; and organizationally, the publisher really took over the administration of both editions—not only nominally—and its larger resources of personnel ensured that production began sailing in very smooth waters. The final six volumes were published in the thirteen remaining years, at record speed, and by the end, contributors and editors were wrung dry.

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From that moment in the 1890s when E. J. Brill undertook to publish the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, the publisher played an integral role in its production, as befit such a highly complex and massive undertaking. Buoyed by imagination more than practicality, for neither scope nor size had been determined at that early date, the publisher embraced the project that would support the developing field of Islamic Studies for more than a century.

The dilemma of the schizophrenic profession of scholarly publisher and commercial businessman, with shareholders nipping at his heels, had not yet developed to the extent that it did in the latter decades of the twentieth century, when success was monitored primarily in monetary terms and the incontrovertible slow pace of erudition and care taken by the editors—indeed, the scholarly aspect of the enterprise—became a thorn in the publisher's side. Originally far from a golden goose, the encyclopedia eventually became that for the publisher, with the consequence that the publication of each fascicule—and certainly a volume, for which the costs had already been incurred—was relied on for a considerable portion of the yearly income. The pressure to publish grew exponentially on all parties.

The encyclopedia inhabited an age of publishing that by the twenty-first century had dramatically changed. The advent of electronic publishing meant that print became burdened by its dilatory—and expensive—nature; the intangible and seemingly infinite storage in the sky meant that the alphabetical order of traditional encyclopedias, which was hostage to articles that were submitted late, was no longer of any account; and as important, the broadening range of subdisciplines meant that one reference work could no longer satisfy all that was desired by students in the field. Perhaps surprisingly, however, the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* maintained its position of first exposure to generations of students and scholars throughout the twentieth century. Its prestige never suffered, but its serviceability ultimately decreased as more and more specialized reference works began to appear in droves.

Chapter Four
European Trials: Politics and Scholarship

The era of the first two editions of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* was one of cooperation and conflict. These rival forces flanked the encyclopedia's right and left, bobbing and ducking over the years, sometimes landing a punch. The nationalistic expression that was all too visible in twentieth-century European relations bared itself as well in prickly territorial boundaries drawn in the encyclopedia.[1] As late as the mid-1990s, a firestorm was set off when it was proposed to combine the separately functioning editorial offices for administrative expediency—effectively erase the territories. The Anglo-Saxon component was accused of being intent on taking down the French edition, of not understanding "la mentalité latine" with regard to the French or Francophone contribution, and tempers flared.

Transcending European national boundaries but as greviously territorial, the overarching banner of orientalism—the perspective that took the West as point of departure and understood everything that was "oriental" as psychologically and dispositionally different—was imprinting the encyclopedia with its own era-appropriate stamp. William Robertson Smith himself, the instigator of the encyclopedia at its earliest hour, was snared in the subjectivity that defined scholarship of the late nineteenth century.[2] A report on his lecture on the Muslim Messiah delivered at the Royal Institution in 1884 has him calling Islam "the barest and coldest of all religions,"[3] while in another lecture

1. Cf. Alter, "Royal Society," 241: "Science, research and learning, which by their very nature should transcend national boundaries, were conceived of as an element in the competitive struggle between the European nations in which 'jedem wissenschaftlichen Forschungsergebnis ein nationaler Stempel aufgedrückt wird,'" quoting the German theologian Adolf von Harnack in a memorandum, dated November 21, 1909, submitted to Kaiser Wilhelm II, which led to the founding of the Kaiser Wilhelm Gesellschaft in 1911.

2. For Edward Said's critique of Robertson Smith, see his *Orientalism* (New York, 1978), 234–36; for a replique, Jonathan Skinner, "Orientalists and Orientalisms: Robertson Smith and Edward W. Said," in *William Robertson Smith: Essays in Reassessment*, ed. William Johnstone (Sheffield, UK, 1995), 376–82.

3. In full, "The absence of personal access to and contact with God which made Mahomedanism the barest and coldest of all religions, was not very much felt after the death of the prophet. The true Arab was singularly lacking in religious sensibility." As reported in *The Shipwrecked Mariner* (July 1884), 203

"primitive" was bandied about as a descriptive term, however poor a word choice for religion and culture it is in today's consciousness.[4]

Caught in the middle of twentieth-century bellicosities, the encyclopedia participants mostly rose above the furor around them, however, concentrating on the task at hand. There were exceptions, as always—among others, the "Holy War Made in Germany" incident pitted a German and a Dutch scholar against each other, while the West vs East tension played out in insidious and less insidious ways. To place the monumental *Encyclopaedia of Islam* in the context and as a product of its time, this chapter will delve into some of the historical and intellectual developments of the hundred plus years that shaped the celebrated enterprise.

1

The initiative for the encyclopedia in 1892 came about amid a "new era for the progress of Science and Letters," a groundswell of internationalized scholarship that took place during the later nineteenth century.[5] Internationalism captured the minds of so many that from 1815 to 1914 over forty international languages were promoted to speed the facility of communication, Esperanto being the best known and the longest surviving of these.[6] Transnational governmental and nongovernmental organizations, sweeping cultural and social movements, world fairs—all simultaneously profited by and contributed to the idea of a global community and a new world order.[7] From political, legal, and

(under "Miscellaneous Jottings"). The journal was a quarterly devoted to maritime matters, an unlikely one, it would have seemed, to have readers with an interest in a decidedly non-maritime lecture such as this.

4. "But, in matters of this sort, ancient and primitive are not synonymous terms; and we must not look for the most primitive form of Semitic faith in a region where society was not primitive. In Babylonia, it would seem, society and religion alike were based on a fusion of two races, and so were not primitive but complex" (W. R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* [London, 1907], 13). Used thus not to mean the neutral "primeval" but to distinguish between "the illiterate peoples of rudest culture" and "those possessing a more complex civilization" (Robert H. Lowie, *Primitive Religion* [London, 1925], ix), the term is now quite charged.

5. Quote taken from the address of Léon de Rosny, the organizer of the First International Congress of Orientalists in 1873, at the Second International Congress of Orientalists; in full, "Les Congrès scientifiques internationaux sont appelés, je crois, à signaler une ère nouvelle pour le progrès des Sciences et des Lettres." *Report of the Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Orientalists, held in London, 1874* (London, 1874), 5.

6. F. S. L. Lyons, *Internationalism in Europe, 1815–1914* (Leiden, 1963), 208–15. For the many terms used to describe international languages and the preference for the term "planned language" for those that were invented, see Detlev Blanke, "The Term 'Planned Language,'" in *Esperanto, Interlinguistics, and Planned Language*, ed. Humphrey Tonkin (Lanham, MD, 1997), 1–20.

7. "In the forty years before 1914, over 400 religious, cultural, professional, humanitarian and political international organisations had been formed on the continent," according to Ann Wiltsher, *Most*

economic perspective, the international dimension promised fruitful collaboration and professional advancement across the board. This played out no differently within the scholarly environment, in which were brought together "these students of congenial pursuits to interchange thoughts, to discuss points of common interest, and to make each other's acquaintance."[8] Thus did international gatherings of scholars come about and then burgeon—five, of various disciplines, were held in 1857, 111 in 1889, and 232 in 1900.[9] One of these was the famed Karlsruhe conference of chemists in 1860, which was the catalyst for the construction of the periodic table.[10] Orientalists, too, gravitated toward the camaraderie and intellectual exchange of meetings. Their first gathering took place in Paris in 1873.[11] Organized by Japanologists, the First International Congress of Orientalists welcomed over 1,000 conference-goers, including the Japanese ambassador to France, who praised the creation of "an intellectual link" alongside the already existent political and commercial ties between Japan and the West.[12]

Three days of the congress were devoted to other branches than far eastern of Oriental Studies—sessions were held on Egyptology; Assyriology and Semitic Archaeology; Semitic, Iranian, Dravidian and Sanskrit Studies; Buddhism, Armenian and Neo-Hellenic Studies; and General Studies on Orientalism, Idioms, etc.[13] In number and makeup the sections changed with each subsequent conference as the host decided on the disciplines to be offered. The second congress, a year later in London, offered Semitic, Turanian, Aryan, Hamitic, archeological, and ethnological sections; the third congress, in

Dangerous Women: Feminist Peace Campaigners of the Great War (London, 1985), 60. For the popularity of and idealism behind the world fair, see *Les fastes du progrès: Le Guide des expositions universelles, 1851–1992*, ed. Brigitte Schroeder-Gudehus and Anne Rasmussen (Paris, 1992).

8. From the opening address of Samuel Birch at the Second International Congress of Orientalists. *Report of the Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Orientalists*, 1.

9. Eckhardt Fuchs, "The Politics of the Republic of Learning: International Scientific Congresses in Europe, the Pacific Rim, and Latin America," in *Across Cultural Borders: Historiography in Global Perspective*, ed. E. Fuchs and Benedikt Stuchtey (Lanham, MD, 2012), 206.

10. Sarah Everts, "When Science Went International," accessible online at pubs.acs.org (search for the title). The first circular announcing location and date (September 3, 1860) was sent two months earlier in July 1860. Some 140 chemists attended, one from as far away as Mexico. Mary Jo Nye, *The Question of the Atom: From the Karlsruhe Congress to the First Solvay Conference 1860–1911* (Los Angeles, 1984), 5–8; Bernadette Bensaude-Vincent, "Languages in Chemistry," in *The Cambridge History of Science*, vol. 5: *The Modern Physical and Mathematical Sciences*, ed. Mary Jo Nye (Cambridge, 2003), 181, 184.

11. For literature on these congresses, see Paul Servais, "Scholarly Networks and International Congresses: The Orientalists before the First World War," in *Information beyond Borders: International Cultural and Intellectual Exchange in the Belle Époque*, ed. W. Boyd Rayward (Farnham, Surrey, 2014), 85–95; Fuchs, "Politics of the Republic of Learning."

12. Servais, "Scholarly Networks and International Congresses," 89; Cust, "Past and Future," 79.

13. *Congrès international des orientalistes: Compte-rendu de la première session, Paris, 1873*, 2:525–29. The congress was held from September 1–11, 1873; the three days given over to the other branches were September 6, 8, and 9. Ibid., 3:xii.

St. Petersburg in 1876, had nine sections: Siberia, Central Asia, Caucasia, Trans-Caucasia, Extreme Orient, India, Turkey, Archaeology, and Systems of Religion; and the fourth congress, held in Florence in 1878, was divided into sections on Egyptology and African Languages, Ancient Semitic Languages and Assyriology, Arabic Studies, Indo-European and Iranian Studies, Indian Studies, Altaic Studies, Chinese, Indo-Chinese, and Tibetan and Yamatological Studies.[14] The farther west the host country was from Eastern interests, the further the scope of the congress diverted from its original Eastern intent; at the ninth congress in London, when the encyclopedia was proposed, the Far Eastern Studies of the first congress was covered in only one of the ten sections.

The opportunity these congresses provided for personal contacts and expansion of knowledge was heralded. The Indologist F. Max Müller proclaimed somewhat ornately at the second congress,

> It is quite right that [specialization] should be so, at least for a time; but all rivers, all brooks, all rills, are meant to flow into the ocean, and all special knowledge, to keep it from stagnation, must have an outlet into the general knowledge of the world. Knowledge for its own sake, as it is sometimes called, is the most dangerous idol that a student can worship. We despise the miser who amasses money for the sake of money, but still more contemptible is the intellectual miser who hoards up knowledge instead of spending it, though, with regard to most of our knowledge, we may be well assured and satisfied that as we brought nothing into the world so we may carry nothing out. Against this danger of mistaking the means for the end, of making bricks without making mortar, of working for ourselves instead of working for others, meetings such as our own, bringing together so large a number of the first Oriental scholars of Europe, seem to me a most excellent safeguard.[15]

It was soon clear, however, that transnational communication had its limits. The practical implications of exchanging in a multi-language sphere were many. A review of three presentations of the Semite Section at the second congress summed up the attendant language problems:

> At half-past two, Sir Henry Rawlinson, President of the Semite Section, read his address. This was a sad loss of time, and entirely prevented any paper being read or any discussion taking place. The eyes of the Congress were now painfully opened to the weak side of the arrangements. Were so many scholars assembled in one place merely to hear a lecture by one member, however distinguished, in a language unintelligible to at least half of the hearers? [...] Pro-

14. *Trübner's American and Oriental Literary Record* 12,1 (1879), 1–4. Yamatologia (or iamatologia) is Italian for Japanology.

15. As cited in *The New York Times* of October 1, 1874, in an article devoted to the second congress.

> fessor Oppert then occupied the Congress by a long discourse in French, upon a subject connected with Assyriology, the purport of which scholars educated up to the mark might, after reading and reflection, understand, or fancy that they understand, in part or entirely. His manner was excited; his pronunciation rapid; he covered a lecture-board with figures at a rate baffling all power of calculation; and the mixed audience, imperfectly acquainted with the subject and the language of the speaker, were thoroughly wearied. But a fresh surprise was in store for them, when Professor Schrader addressed the Congress in German, thus limiting the intelligent audience still further, and he was understood to combat the assertions of his predecessor. The assembly felt, that they had fallen from the frying-pan into the fire in thus exchanging German for French; and, as no attempt was made by means of an interpreter to give the audience a brief abstract of the statements of either speaker, many remained absolutely ignorant as to what they had been listening to. This, however, opened out the whole question of the utility of such Congresses, as it became clear, that this afternoon there had been a triangular duel betwixt English, German, and French, which no one could understand, for, with the exception of a few gifted trilinguals, all were in turn barbarians on the second day of the Oriental Congress.[16]

As pointed out in chapter one, the congresses struggled with the problem of official language(s) for some time. The encyclopedia, too, developed as it was in the rush of internationalism and beset by financial headaches that it was thought would be eased by accommodating national interests, adopted a trilingual structure that would prove far more problematic than the compliment was worth. Aggravation with and financial expenditures for the translating activity—in the second edition, reduced to two languages but no less exasperating—were significant throughout the encyclopedia's lifetime, not aided by the headaches of perennial currency conversion and intermittent cultural conflict.

Although internationalization stood in stark contrast to the interests of the national academies, even they rode the wave of optimism and broadened their circle by forming the International Association of Academies (IAA) in the waning years of the nineteenth century (for which, see chapter one, above). It comes as no surprise therefore that William Robertson Smith and the organizers of the encyclopedia would also conform to the times and nourish a deep faith in the universal ideals of scholarship and in the principle that, as pronounced in the president's address of the Fifth International Congress of Ori-

16. Cust, *Linguistic and Oriental Essays*, 1:417, 419. The native German philologist Jules Oppert (1825–1905) is known as one of the founders, with Edward Hincks and Henry Rawlinson, of the field of Assyriology; he discovered the site of Babylon and was the first to give the name Sumerian to the people who invented the cuneiform script and their language. For an obituary notice, see *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 52 (1905), 282–83. For Eberhard Schrader (1836–1908), famed German Assyriologist, see his obituary notice in *JRAS* (1908), 1242–44.

entalists, "Whoever does not see to acquiring colleagues abroad, deprives himself often of the best assistance."[17]

Yet, the innate incompatibility of nationalism and internationalism in scholarship, which ultimately doomed the IAA to a short existence, had burst into view with the rupture in the organization of the very same ninth congress that spawned the encyclopedia. In addition to linguistic confusion, warning signs of cultural divides can also be found in the preceding years. One bumps up against intra-European judgment calls, such as gratuitous comments that "the Italian character is essentially feminine, and there is an absence of the organizing power and strong administrative genius which distinguish the inhabitants of northern Europe,"[18] but as noteworthy is the overarching Eurocentric mentality vis-à-vis the very cultures under study.[19] The President's opening speech of the fifth congress in Berlin in 1881—providing the remainder of the afore-cited quote—was a ringing endorsement of internationalism, but one that was restricted, likely completely unselfconsciously, to "European nations":

> Scholarship, Gentlemen, is international in itself: a light that is illuminated in one country cannot hide, but shines into the others; whoever does not see to acquiring colleagues abroad, deprives himself often of the best assistance. All European nations have contributed to the wealth of scholarship that we now enjoy.[20]

Continuing the theme of light, and the one-way orientation of scholarship, the oration concluded with:

17. *Verhandlungen des fünften Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses*, 1:31. Cf. Louis Pasteur's statement at the inauguaration of the Pasteur Institute in 1888, as variously recorded: "Le savant a une patrie, la science n'en a pas."

18. [R. N. Cust], "The Oriental Congresses: At St. Petersburgh in 1876 and Florence in 1878," *Calcutta Review* 68,136 (1878), 221–22.

19. To contemporary ears, insensitivity appears in, e.g., the nameless description of non-European attendees, such as "one Arab especially delighted the ears of those who attach importance to the pronunciation of the letter 'a'in' [*sic*] by articulating it in various stages that threatened his suffocation. Still the Orientals did give valuable papers. The Parsi in a few minutes dispersed a century of German misconception on the subject, and the Brahmin brought a fact to notice that deserved a more courteous treatment than the untrue remark that it was only an instance of the fabrications usual to Brahmins. The learned Mohammedans refuted those who 'prefer vulgar to Classical Arabic', or dispelled our delusions regarding 'the rights of women under Islam.'" Anon., "Scholars on the Rampage," *Asiatic Quarterly Review* 9 (1890), 179–80. Cf. Fuchs, "Politics of the Republic of Learning," 214–15 ("the oriental participants were often treated not as scholars of equal stature, but as exotic creatures").

20. *Verhandlungen des fünften Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses*, 1:31.

> We want to illuminate the Orient, from where our daily sunlight comes, to which we owe the beginnings of our culture, our religion, with our scholarship: *orienti reddenda lux* is our motto.[21]

The intrepid scholar traveled to the field, but the august meeting of scholars was strictly a European event: of the nineteen congresses convened during the years of the encyclopedia's first edition, only the fourteenth was held beyond European borders (Algiers, 1905), a single instance little improved upon during the years of the second edition. An experience at the congress in Algiers in 1905, when a presentation by Karl Vollers on the language of the Quran caused a considerable outcry ("In the matter of the Quran we do not accept anything from foreigners," the future pan-Islamist Shaykh Shawīsh purportedly said on behalf of a group of Muslims), might well have had much to do with the disinclination to travel outside the comfort zone.[22]

This was also true for the encyclopedia, which, as an Indian supporter reminded critics in a dust-up many decades later (see below), was "a Western enterprise planned by Western scholars and sponsored and financed by Western Academies." The ironic disinclination to embrace outsiders was particularly salient in the encyclopedia's first edition, which included very few contributors from the regions under study. Though the second edition was more welcoming, the same disinclination is mirrored in its "Associate Editor" status, adopted in 1951, for non-European scholars.[23] Their tasks were never outlined, their expertise rarely called upon; as noted in chapter two, in 1990 it was discovered that one of them, Naji al-Asil, had died in 1963—his name was hastily omitted as of volume seven. Subsequently, Émile Tyan, whose name was listed until 1997, volume nine, was also found to have died twenty years previously.[24]

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21. Ibid., 1:39–40; paraphrased in Fuchs, "Politics of the Republic of Learning," 215. The Latin wordplay (Light is restored to the Orient) stems from the coined phrase *Ex oriente lux*, which was very popular at the time.

22. For the uproar in Algiers, see Karl Vollers, *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien* (Strassburg, 1906), 2–3; cf. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:516n116. For Shaykh Shawīsh (or Jawīsh, 1872–1929), see Arthur Goldschmidt Jr., *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Egypt* (Boulder and London, 2000), s.v. According to a report of the sixteenth congress in Athens in 1912, where the offer to hold the next congress in Cairo was roundly rejected, the worry was that a congress outside of Europe would not be "on the highest scientific niveau" (Fuchs, "Politics of the Republic of Learning," 217n67). In the end, the seventeenth congress did not take place for sixteen years (see below).

23. See chapter two, text at n77.

24. For Naji al-Asil (1895–1963), politician and from 1944 until his death, Director-General of the Iraqi Department of Antiquities, see Edmund A. Ghareeb, *Historical Dictionary of Iraq* (Lanham, MD, 2004), 22; an unsigned obituary in *Iraq* 25 (1963), ii–vi (accessible online at www.cambridge.org/core). There is a discrepancy as to birthdates in these two sources; his age at death differs by a few years. For the little biography I was able to find for Émile Tyan (1901–1977), Lebanese professor of law, Minister of Justice, and author of influential studies on the law and the caliphate, see the preface by Édouard Lambert to Tyan's first volume of *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam* (Paris, 1938).

Both culture and language are ripe for politicization, and scholarship, despite the stirring words of neutrality it evokes, is heavily politicized. The ultimate schism in the International Congress of Orientalists drew on long-standing cultural and linguistic slights, if indirectly; the discord was publicized when the French and their supporters, angry that the nominating committee for the ninth congress was composed only of Germanic representatives, who had chosen Oxford as the host city, organized a parallel congress in London.[25] A second point of contention centered on the opulence and festivities of the eighth congress, held in Stockholm and organized by Count Carlo Landberg, which fueled much resentment. Even Snouck Hurgronje, ensconced in the Dutch East Indies, had heard of "the Stockholm scandal." He hoped that "the orientalists, after having recovered from Stockholm's giddiness, will decide on a simple, serious meeting, in a small place, and I would almost wish that Counts whose nobility is more recent than A.D. 1880 would be excluded from participation."[26] One attendee reports:

> In the eighth Congress last September at Stockholm and Christiania [...] there was a succession of dinners, operas, excursions, entertainments, and illuminations; long after midnight the delighted congressionists would get them to their beds. [...] Good work was indeed transacted somehow or other, but, when the excitement and delight of the shows, and the good eating, had passed away, there was a feeling of disappointment with the result of the Congress in thoughtful minds.[27]

This segued into a third point of contention for the factional divide between the Germans and their supporters, who pushed to frame the congress as a purely scholarly meeting ("to keep it as a monopoly of a few Professors," in the words of an opponent), and the French and their supporters, who "wish[ed] to give the benefits of Oriental Learning in practical forms of Science, Art, Education, Industry and even Commerce to the World."[28]

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25. Anon., "Scholars on the Rampage," 184–85. The entire article is of interest for the atmosphere of the early congresses, and for the depths of hostility that the host of the eighth congress, Count Landberg, brought out in this anonymous English author. Of Landberg, alluding to the congress he organized, De Goeje wrote: "Carlo Landberg is very down at the moment. He tried so hard to give the congress attendees a good time, and his thanks are all kinds of unpleasantness." M. J. de Goeje to Th. Nöldeke, September 17, 1890. For more on the rupture by one of the parallel congress organizers, see G. W. Leitner, "The Healing of the Schism among the Orientalists," *Asiatic Quarterly Review* 10 (1890), 212–18; and the explanation of it in the address given by Max Müller at the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, pp. 6–9, accessible online at www.hathitrust.org (search under Catalog).

26. Letter to Nöldeke, November 12, 1989, in Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam*, 14.

27. Cust, *Linguistic and Oriental Essays*, 2:196.

28. "The So-Called Tenth Oriental Congress," *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review and Oriental and Colonial Record* n.s. 8, 15 (1894), 203–5, an unsigned diatribe, likely penned by G. W. Leitner, which amply provides a taste of the acerbic nature of the split. For a bit more detailed discussion of the discord, see Fuchs, "Politics of the Republic of Learning," 212–13.

In the end, two ninth congresses were held in London, in 1891 and 1892, and two tenth congresses were held, in Madrid in 1892 and in Geneva in 1894, before the acrimony was laid to rest.

Despite the animosity playing out in the background, the two contentious ninth and tenth international congresses provided the large stage for the encyclopedia planners to shape their major work. William Robertson Smith successfully launched his idea in London in 1892 and his successor was chosen to lead the enterprise in Geneva in 1894. Although the end result was a product that embraced the arcane and the academic, it began with the intention, as did the orientalist congresses in the full thrust of internationalism, to engage and educate the learned, which included the learned public, in the scholarship that made up the field of Islamic Studies at that time.

The first impetus for the study of Islam in Europe was the perceived need among medieval Christian religionists to counter the threat of "the false religion," the "false prophet" Muḥammad, and the theological "lies" that Islam taught.[29] Apologetic polemics also drove the study of Arabic, introduced in the universities with Greek, Hebrew, and Aramaic by the Council of Vienna in 1311–12, until interest in philology rather than refutation slowly took the upper hand, culminating in the teachings of Silvestre de Sacy in Paris and Fleischer in Leipzig in the 1800s.[30] Texts studied for their philological secrets slowly paved the way for the study of Islamic law, history, and religion; with few exceptions, however, the interest was rooted in the historical dimensions of Islamic civilization—the contemporary situation, outside of the "Turkish menace" posed by the Ottoman empire, did not much interest the scholars. Originally out of fear of losing Christian souls to conversion, later out of fear of the looming danger that Islam, via the Ottoman empire, posed for Christian civilization,[31] and, lastly, out of support for the imperial enterprise

29. These originally medieval Christian teachings have survived until modern times; as noted by Ursula Günther and Inga Niehaus, the South African Dutch Reformed Church (Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk) referred to Islam as a false religion as late as 1986. See their "Islam, Politics, and Gender during the Struggle in South Africa," in *Religion, Politics, and Identity in a Changing South Africa*, ed. David Chidester et al. (Munster, 2004), 110. For an extensive look at how medieval Europe viewed Islam, see Richard W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1962); Zachary Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism*, 2nd ed. (New York, 2010), esp. chaps. 1, 2; Norman Daniel, "The Image of Islam in the Medieval and the Early Modern Period," in *Mapping Islamic Studies: Genealogy, Continuity and Change*, ed. Azim Nanji (Berlin, 1997), 128–48.

30. For Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838), and his students, see Fück, *Arabischen Studien*, 140–57; Henri Dehérain, *Silvestre de Sacy: Ses contemporains et ses disciples* (Paris, 1938); Michel Espagne et al., eds., *Silvestre de Sacy: Le projet européen d'une science orientaliste* (Paris, 2014). For Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer (1801–1888), see Fück, *Arabischen Studien*, 170–73; Holger Preissler, "Les contacts entre orientalistes français et allemands dans les années 1820–1830, d'après la correspondance de Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer (1801–1888)," *Revue germanique internationale* 7 (2008), 93–108.

31. Thus did Martin Luther in the sixteenth century write that "the Turk's Qurʾān or creed teaches him to destroy not only the Christian faith, but also the whole temporal government." Taken from Adam

to facilitate the understanding and subjugating of the colonial subjects of the European states, the study of Islam was for the majority of scholars rarely a neutral study. For any objective analysis of the encyclopedia project, it is important to keep sight of the fact that the very idea of an encyclopedia of Islam—and the tangible outcome of that idea, namely, the first edition—came after centuries of European fear of and formed opinion about Islam, centuries of expansion and empire, and, very importantly, in the long wake of research into Islam that mainly found expression in works that, subtly or not so subtly, refuted the validity of Islam as a religion and Muslim culture as a civilization.

2

The perennial undercurrent of antagonism between the Christian and the Muslim worlds, exacerbated by religious untruths, misconceptions, and ignorance, was matched by antagonisms between the European countries themselves, spurred and kept alive by countless wars on the continent, from the Middle Ages through the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, the latter part of the nineteenth century when the encyclopedia proposal was made, and into the twentieth century. Two major conflicts in the mid- and later nineteenth century, now hidden in the shadow of the devastating world wars of the twentieth century but catastrophic in their time, were the Crimean War (1854–56), in which British and French soldiers fought alongside Ottoman troops in the Black Sea region, and the Franco-Prussian War (1870–71), which was fought in the heart of the continent and left deep and lasting scars, altering the balance of power. European conflict during the nineteenth century was visible off the continent as well, with, among others, two Anglo–Boer wars (1880–81, 1899–1902) and a war between Italy and Abyssinia (1885–96), but it was not only war that kept the peripheral world unquiet. European colonialism, and the imposition of European exceptionalism, was at its zenith in the nineteenth century. The spirit of internationalism that bubbled within the borders of Europe and fueled so much fervor lost its sparkle in the face of avid imperialism.

2.1. *Colonialism*

The history and effects of European colonialism have been written about copiously. As is well known, the countries most linked to the encyclopedia—England, France, Germany, and Holland—were among the worst offenders. North and sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, India, Malaysia, Indonesia—largely the entire Muslim world—were taken over and administered by these Western powers. The colonial paradigm is so large—by the 1930s

S. Francisco, *Martin Luther and Islam: A Study in Sixteenth-Century Polemics and Apologetics* (Leiden, 2007), 144.

some 84.6 percent of the globe had been or was a European colony[32]—and the parties involved so diverse and numerous, there is no single explanation for the phenomenon, though some have been proposed.[33] It can nevertheless be offered, however unique to the French as a defining ideology of colonialist aims, that *la mission civilisatrice* provided the linchpin of the entirety of European expansion. From the European perspective, the colonized countries were, civilizationally speaking, lesser, poorer, deficient in every way.

The European expansion into the relatively uncharted regions of the Muslim world electrified the empire of research, not only into such clinical topics as flora, fauna, topography, and geology, but also into Islam, the common religion, and all that it entailed. Much of the research was funded by the governments because of its relevance to the imperial effort, as in the case of Holland.[34] Thus, in Leiden and Delft, institutes and later the universities were home to educating colonial administrators in what they needed to know about the cultures over which they ruled, so as to ensure the efficacy and success of colonial rule. As Jean Chrétien Baud, Minister of Colonial Affairs (*Minister van Koloniën*), wrote to King Willem III in 1842,

> It is a manifest truth that a dominated people cannot be kept as subjects for the long term, without violence, if the ruler does not dedicate himself to governing this people with fairness and justice, and above all with respect for their institutions, customs, and prejudices. The principal means to get to know those institutions, customs, and prejudices is familiarity with the language of the land, which, incidentally, from a purely administrative point of view is an absolute requirement—recognized by everybody—for running things well. The Dutch Government in Java displays the strange and embarrassing spectacle of an almost complete lack of the above requirement. Very few civil servants understand Javanese, generally using [instead] Low Malay, a patois that the general public is ignorant of. The administrative evil that this creates is manifold. Most civil servants cannot investigate and execute any order without the help of interpreters, who not infrequently have an interest in hiding the truth. The traveling judge (*ommegaande regter*) pronounces the harshest sentences, yes, the death penalty, without being able to question witnesses other than through an intermediary.[35]

32. Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, 3rd ed. (New York, 2015), 5.

33. For the multitude of causes and deconstructions, see H. L. Wesseling, *Europa's koloniale eeuw: De koloniale rijken in de negentiende eeuw, 1815–1919* (Amsterdam, 2003); Engl. trans. *The European Colonial Empires, 1815–1919* (Harlow, UK, 2005).

34. One of the fields that was co-opted by the colonial endeavor was that of anthropology, which in the Netherlands was a mandatory course for civil servants heading to serve in the Dutch East Indies. See P. E. de Josselin de Jong and H. F. Vermeulen, "Cultural Anthropology at Leiden University from Encyclopedism to Structuralism," in Otterspeer, *Leiden Oriental Collections*, 280–316.

35. C. Fasseur, *De Indologen: Ambtenaren voor de Oost, 1825–1950* (Amsterdam, 1993), 94. Apparently this

Shortly thereafter, the king decreed that the newly founded Royal Academy for Engineers in Delft would include the training of government employees bound for the Dutch East Indies in language, ethnography, Islamic law, and native customs.[36] A program of preparatory training for those bent on joining the civil administration in the Indies was also offered at Leiden University from 1864, but the changeover to an academic discipline took longer; only in 1877, when four professorships—in Javanese, in Malay, in Geography and Ethnography of the East Indies, and in Islamic and Colonial Law—were established, did the training offered at Leiden lose its practical focus.[37]

Likewise in Britain, a college had been established to prepare civil servants for their service. Officially the East India College, named after the company that founded it, but unofficially known as Haileybury from the town in which it was located, it provided a regular curriculum that included Classics, Mathematics, Law, Political Economy, and History along with Sanskrit, Persian, and Hindustani (and the option to study other native languages). A statute dating from 1813 provided that "no writer should be sent to India unless he had been duly entered at Haileybury, had resided there four terms, and had conformed to the rules and regulations of the college."[38] Once on the subcontinent, some of these British civil servants threw themselves with a passion into studying Islamic texts

example of capital punishment stems from when J.-C. Baud (1789–1859) was Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies (1833–1836) and himself barely escaped handing out such a sentence on three innocent people. See C. Fasseur, "Colonial Dilemma: Van Vollenhoven and the Struggle between Adat Law and Western Law in Indonesia," in *European Expansion and Law: The Encounter of European and Indigenous Law in 19th- and 20th-Century Africa and Asia*, ed. W. J. Mommsen and J. A. de Moor (Oxford/New York, 1992), 241–42. Baud was the subject of a detailed biography, written shortly after his death by the later Minister of Colonial Affairs (1856–1858, 1866) P. Meijer, *Jean Chrétien Baud geschetst* (Utrecht, 1878). Baud had made a first, unsuccessful, attempt some two decades earlier to persuade the king to fund a training college under the auspices of Leiden University; see C. Fasseur, "Leiden and Empire: University and Colonial Office 1825–1925," in Otterspeer, *Leiden Oriental Collections*, 188.

36. Fasseur, *Indologen*, 94–95. There had been on-site training in Java before 1842; see the volume compiling the accounts of former civil servants in the Dutch East Indies, *Besturen overzee: Herinneringen van oud-ambtenaren bij het binnenlands bestuur in Nederlandsch-Indië*, ed. S. L. van der Wal (Franeker, 1977), esp. A. A. J. Warmenhoven, "De Opleiding van Nederlandse Bestuursambtenaren in Indonesië," 12–41, who lists (p. 18) the required courses for graduation at the Delft Academy: Dutch, Javanese, Malay, Islamic law and native customs, the geography and ethnology of Dutch East Indies, land and water surveying, as well as either chemistry or engineering and hydrotechnics.

37. Fasseur, "Leiden and Empire," 193; cf. De Josselin de Jong and Vermeulen, "Cultural Anthropology," 280, 286–94.

38. A. Lawrence Lowell, with H. Morse Stephens, *Colonial Civil Service: The Selection and Training of Colonial Officials in England, Holland, and France* (New York, 1900), 12, a fascinating comparative analysis of colonial training penned "to see what light can be derived from the experience of other nations" toward the establishment of an American civil service in the Philippines (p. v). The designation of Writer was a commercial title, along with Factor, and Junior and Senior Merchant, used by the East India Company for their agents.

and languages, and were responsible for ambitious and indispensable dictionaries, grammars, and translations.

The French established the École Coloniale (Colo) in the late 1880s;[39] there seems to be consensus that its students "were of lower quality than those entering other branches of the French civil service," that is, from the grandes écoles.[40] Since students were recruited "with no concern for their academic abilities," so as to not limit the student body to the upper class, it is little surprising.[41] Despite the study being considered by the rival institutions to be of little practical use—much study was made of the law, but little of language—Colo alumni became high-ranking administrators, and with the increased bureaucratization of the colonial administrations, they were eventually the best suited.

Despite the practical thrust and the increased familiarity with the colonized cultures that began to dominate the discourse, however, stereotypes still formed and informed many of the theses of the scholars dealing with the Eastern realm. As Homi Bhabha put it, "[Colonial discourse] is the most theoretically underdeveloped form of discourse, but crucial to the binding of a range of differences and discriminations that inform the discursive and political practices of racial and cultural hierarchisation."[42] In the case of the colonized Muslims, who despite obvious cultural differences were generally reduced to their religious commonality, the colonial administrations constructed a calcified, even regressive, population that was motivated by a searing and politically charged enmity toward colonial values. The administrations were abetted in this image-forming by many of the scholars who in their spare time contributed to the encyclopedia.

2.2. *Holy War*

One incident in particular, in which the main sparring parties were German and Dutch, stemmed from just such an assessment of a multitude of culturally different colonialized Muslims; the warmongering atmosphere of the First World War fanned the fire. Like Snouck Hurgronje, Carl Heinrich Becker, the founder in 1910 of the journal *Der Islam*, was in a position to advise his government as to the best way to control the colonial states.[43] Building on the long-standing German effort to befriend the Ottoman sultan-

39. For a detailed study, see William B. Cohen, *Rulers of Empire: The French Colonial Service in Africa* (Stanford, 1971), chaps. 3, 5. The date of its founding is variously given as 1886 (Wesseling) and 1885 (Cohen).

40. G. Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State: Negritude and Colonial Humanism between the Two World Wars* (Chicago, 2005), 61. Cf. Wesseling, *Europa's koloniale eeuw*, 70; Cohen, *Rulers of Empire*, 42–44.

41. Cohen, *Rulers of Empire*, 42.

42. Homi Bhabha, "The Other Question," *Screen* 24,6 (1983), 19.

43. Carl Heinrich Becker (1876–1933) is known in Germany as the "father of Islamic studies." For an obituary, see that by Helmut Ritter, in *Der Islam* 24 (1937), 175–85, which appeared four years after his death. This delay is explained in the liber amicorum *Carl Heinrich Becker: Ein Gedenkbuch* (Göttingen,

ate, in 1914 he was a strong advocate of the Ottoman push for pan-Islamism, an inchoate movement beating the drum for the revival of the caliphate, which was seen by avid Germans to be the best tool to unite Muslims. Just four years earlier, however, Becker had asserted that "[a] strong Turkey, it goes without saying, will never claim political sovereignty over the Islamic subjects of other powers," while six years before that he had decisively pronounced pan-Islamism "as contrary to the real interests of Turkey."[44] But the political circumstances had now decreed otherwise. The idea as articulated in 1914 was that all colonized Muslims would unite with the Ottomans and rise up against the abhorred imperialist powers—which, Germans felt, excluded Germany since, late to the game, her conquests were limited to a few states of East and West Africa—thereby decimating Russian, British, and French control.[45] The British, in particular, were public enemy number one. Kaiser Wilhelm II himself scribbled in the margin of a telegram received July 30, 1914: "[England] must ... have the mask of Christian peaceableness torn publicly off her face ... Our Consuls in Turkey and India, agents, etc. must inflame the whole Mohammedan world to wild revolt against this hateful, lying, conscienceless people of shopkeepers."[46] The conceiver of the strategy, Max von Oppenheim, wrote three months later: "The intervention of Islam in the present war is, particularly for England, a terrible blow. Let us do all we can ... [to ensure] that this blow will be a lethal one!"[47] And the scholar Enno Littmann, who in 1933 would controversially replace Arent Wensinck

1950), planned soon after his death but also delayed, as having been impeded by the political situation (p. 166). Cornelia Essner and Gerd Winkelhane hesitate to lay this at the feet of the political upheaval—a historic appraisal of German fascism was still a young discipline at that time—and suggest that fourteen years of the political spotlight had estranged Becker from his fellow scholars. See their "Carl Heinrich Becker (1876–1933), Orientalist und Kulturpolitiker," in *Gegenwart als Geschichte: Islamwissenschaftliche Studien. Fritz Steppat zum fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. A. Havemann and B. Johansen (Leiden, 1988), 155n2.

44. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Holy War "Made in Germany"* (New York, 1915), 68 and 66, respectively. The Becker sayings were published in "Der Islam und die Kolonisierung Afrikas," *Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik* (1910) and "Panislamismus," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 7 (1904) respectively. Both were reprinted in Becker, *Islamstudien*, 2:187–210, 231–51.

45. C. H. Becker, *Deutschland und der Islam* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1914), 17. Snouck Hurgronje pointed out (*Holy War*, 57), however, that while Becker referred to approximately 150 million oppressed Muslims, i.e., subjects of only Russia, England, and France, the Ottomans included the Muslim subjects of Germany and Austria as well in their count of the subjugated populations.

46. Taken from Sean McMeekin, *The Berlin-Baghdad Express: The Ottoman Empire and Germany's Bid for World Power* (Cambridge, MA, 2010), 85 (ellipses in the original).

47. Ibid., 84. Baron Max van Oppenheim (1860–1946) was a German aristocrat who traveled extensively in the Near East as an amateur orientalist; in 1914 he became the first director of Nachrichtenstelle für den Orient, a propaganda office, in which position he wrote the memorandum that called for German contribution to an uprising in the Muslim colonies. He was also the man behind the Muslim POW camps, Halbmondlager and Weinberg, which mission was to "convert" the prisoners to offensive jihad. For Von Oppenheim and the propaganda office, see Gottfried Hagen, "German Heralds of Holy

on the board of the Egyptian Academy (for which, see chapter one, above), had written a pamphlet, "I Accuse England," which begins: "I accuse the English Government of the vilest crime ever perpetrated by a great civilized nation; of being the friends and helpers of barbarians and murderers; of telling the most unscrupulous and indecent lies; of pursuing the blindest and grossest egotism in the world."[48]

Thus, despite the fact that "[from] 1888 to 1908 Germany ignored the Turkish people, because it could not be of use to Germany,"[49] a campaign was set up whereby a fatwa was issued "in the mosque of Mehmed the Conqueror, which commemorates the greatest victory of the Turks over Christianity, the conquest of Constantinople in 1452," calling for jihad against the oppressors.[50] The fatwa explicitly designated Muslims who fought against Germany and Austria ("allies of the Supreme Islamic Government") deserving of punishment in hell:

> Question: Is it in this case for the Muslims that are in the present war under the rule of England, France, Russia, Serbia, Montenegro and their allies, since it is detrimental to the Islamic Caliphate, a great sin to fight against Germany and Austria which are the allies of the Supreme Islamic Government and do they deserve [by acting so] a painful punishment [in the Here-After]? Answer: Yes.[51]

The fomenting by Becker and other German scholars of what he saw as religious hatred (*geloofshaat*) particularly galled Snouck Hurgronje. He wrote Nöldeke on December 12, 2014:

> I will soon send you a Gids article, which I was motivated to write because of a request by its editors to review H. Grothe's brochure on Germany, Turkey, and Islam. In it I had to express my irritation at the game that is being played with jihad—in my opinion the disgraceful attempt to stoke medieval religious ha-

War: Orientalists and Applied Oriental Studies," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Near East* 24 (2004), 149–54.

48. Accessible online at www.hathitrust.org. The "vilest crime" was the present war, for which Littmann held England fully responsible. For Enno Littmann, see chapter one, n234. Snouck Hurgronje, who incurred Littmann's anger by not agreeing to act as the pamphlet's distributor in the United States when he was visiting there, attributed all of this (1985a, 191) to the "war frenzy [that] brings those who are closely involved in a mood whereby they are less open to a calm exchange of views."

49. Snouck Hurgronje, *Holy War*, 54.

50. Ibid., 48–49. Although it is generally acknowledged that Germany and Austria-Hungary had a hand in the fatwa declaration, it has been argued that it was hardly uncommon for such a fatwa to be issued by the Ottomans and that the nineteenth century was rife with appeals for "jihad-as-holy-war." See Mustafa Aksakal, "'Holy War Made in Germany': Ottoman Origins of the 1914 Jihad," *War in History* 18 (2011), 184–99.

51. Taken from Rudolph Peters, *Jihad in Classical and Modern Islam: A Reader* (Princeton, 1996), 57 (bracketed explanations in original).

> tred, about which the Mohammedans themselves increasingly were beginning to be ashamed. That is one of the psychoses of war.[52]

The promised article, published in the bimonthly cultural journal *De Gids*, was "The Holy War 'Made in Germany,'" which discredited the entire basis for the German fatwa ("The *jihad*-program assumes that Mohammedans, just as at their first appearance in the world, continuously form a compact unity under one man's leadership. But this situation has in reality endured so short a time, the realm of Islam has so quickly disintegrated into an increasingly large number of principalities, the supreme power of the so-called Caliph, after flourishing for a short period, has become so much a mere word, that even the *jihad*-prescriptions have had to be adapted to this state of crumbling authority").[53] These words—and more, for Snouck Hurgronje devoted many a letter to Nöldeke and others on this question—were mild compared to the increasingly vitriolic polemics published by Germans against Germany's rivals. Nevertheless, the Germans felt attacked. Becker—who had also irked Snouck Hurgronje by declaring on the occasion of Germany overrunning neutral Belgium that "small states are destined to be swallowed up by large ones"[54]—answered Snouck's accusations of Germany's inciting a religious war by noting that,

> Islam as a religion is not limited to the inner life of its believers, but governs the[ir] entire civil life and theoretically even their understanding of the state; therefore all states—European as well as Eastern—that have Mohammadan subjects must adopt a certain position regarding the obligations and the rights of this religion. Insofar as such a position expresses itself in conscious regulations or concessions, it can be called 'Islam policy'.[55]

52. Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam*, 197. The Hugo Grothe booklet was *Deutschland, die Türkei und der Islam: Ein Beitrag zu den Grundlinien der deutschen Weldpolitik im islamischen Orient*, which appeared as the fourth volume in a series entitled "Zwischen Krieg und Frieden" (Leipzig, 1914–1917), online at hathitrust.org. For other German scholars and a full synopsis of the Becker–Snouck incident, see Peter Heine, "C. Snouck Hurgronje versus C. H. Becker: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der angewandten Orientalistik," *Die Welt des Islams* 23–24 (1984); Hagen, "German Heralds of Holy War."

53. Snouck Hurgronje, *Holy War*, 7–8. The original publication was entitled "Heilige Oorlog Made in Germany" (*De Gids* 79,1 [1915], 115–47; see chapter one, n186). One cannot help feeling, however, that Snouck Hurgronje's fervent arguments against the promotion of jihad by the Germans reflect an unease about the promotion actually taking hold. Ten years earlier, Snouck had summed up the call for jihad, in the context of the Aceh war against the Dutch colonials, also as widely disappearing. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, tr. A. W. S. O'Sullivan, 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1906), 1:172: "In more civilized Mohammedan states [than Aceh] war has grown to be governed more and more according to the principles universally acknowledged by civilized nations, and the 'holy war' is merely a watchword appealed to in certain circles to excite sympathy and devotion."

54. Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam*, 190.

55. C. H. Becker, "Islampolitiek," *De Gids* 79 (1915), 311, accessible online at dbnl.org.

Becker differentiated England, France, and Russia from Germany by noting that the formers' "Islam policy" was an important part of their colonial—that is, domestic—affairs, while for Germany and Austria-Hungary, having only a few Muslim subjects, it fell under foreign affairs. In this way he skirted over the hard truth of Germany's desire, which, as Snouck Hurgronje asserted, was that "Turkey freed by Germany from all troublesome meddling of England, France, and Russia, will fall under German guardianship, and though with careful avoidance of the name, it will become a *German protectorate*."[56]

The use of the word "protectorate" inflamed even Theodor Nöldeke, Snouck's good friend, who before the warring hostilities wished he had died so as to not live through them, only to begin to avidly root for Germany's ultimate triumph after the first victories.[57] Snouck Hurgronje justified its use in a subsequent letter:

> One could argue endlessly about the question of the protectorate. Whatever result one might reach for himself, from different motives, nobody can seriously blame another when he uses the word guardianship or protectorate [to describe] an alliance between two [states], of which one is morally, intellectually, and materially by far the greater, if in his opinion it is the most fitting for that relationship, the more so when large interests of the more powerful are connected to the manner in which the other organizes itself and behaves in a political, economic, and military sense. This is not to deny that numerous other protectorates can exist in which the arrangements of the relationship are quite different because of all sorts of circumstances, but it [protectorate] perfectly describes the relationship, and for the second [lesser] in that alliance there can be no talk of independence.[58]

Feelings ran high, battle lines were drawn. Snouck Hurgronje's Holy War article was called "highly deplorable drivel" by Becker,[59] who tried in vain to enlist Goldziher to break with the Dutchman and to sign a public response.[60] Although the impression from

56. Snouck Hurgronje, *Holy War*, 59 (emphasis in original).

57. According to a letter he wrote to Becker of September 20, 1914, cited by Marchand, *German Orientalism*, 436n25. Around the same time Nöldeke's letters to Snouck Hurgronje seem to have begun professing similar feelings; on September 6, 1914, Snouck answered (1985a, 185): "We also are full of admiration for the unity, the powerful organization, and the calculated performance of the German army. One cannot forget, however, that the first series of acts was the indifferent trampling of the rights of a small state [Belgium] [...]" and their differences regarding the war intensified as the war progressed.

58. Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam*, 207–8.

59. "Sie werden wohl auch die höchst bedauerliche Expektorierung von Snouck erhalten haben," wrote Becker to Martin Hartmann, January 13, 1915. Ludmila Hanisch, ed., *Islamkunde und Islamwissenschaft im deutschen Kaiserreich: Der Briefwechsel zwischen Carl Heinrich Becker und Martin Hartmann* (1900–1918) (Leiden, 1992), 82.

60. Marchand, *German Orientalism*, 444. For a summary of the German orientalists involved in one way or another in German warmongering, see ibid., chap. 10.

Snouck Hurgronje's writings, and one that he was keen to perpetuate, is that his antagonism was steeped in political differences only, from the perspective of the German community it seems to have overflowed into the personal. Nöldeke reacted as if Snouck "had declared war on [his] German friends,"[61] and Becker took the animosity to new heights when he brought professional character—Snouck Hurgronje's chairing of the encyclopedia—into the fray.

As recounted briefly in chapter one, above, the German assistant editor appointed in August 1913 was Hans Bauer. A condition of employment was that he would reside in Leiden, because consulting with the typesetters and printers was required on nearly a daily basis. Bauer, who had earned his doctorate and Habilitation by 1912 and in hindsight seems to have thought of the encyclopedia work as beneath his potential, preferred to live in Halle, however, which after a few months of employ was grudgingly allowed, despite it being "understood" in the terms of employment ("It went without saying," wrote Snouck Hurgronje to Nöldeke) that "the second editor spent most of his time on editing."[62] Bauer found himself therefore in Halle when the war broke out; he immediately joined the German Red Cross and awaited his summons to Prussia. This eagerness on his part to not work for the encyclopedia did not go unnoticed and his contract was rescinded. The German editing was taken over by Cornelis van Arendonk, Houtsma's student.

As extra buckshot in the holy war feud, Becker now took up Bauer's case, and demanded from Houtsma "on behalf of Littmann and Brockelmann, and actually on behalf of Germany," according to Snouck Hurgronje, that Bauer be reinstated and allowed to work from Halle. The "parity" of the editions was at stake.[63] The tone of the demand incensed Snouck who aired his grievances to Nöldeke. "There is not much that surprises me anymore, not even this small-minded way of making trouble [lit. throwing soot into the food]," he wrote. Nöldeke responded with a backlash:

> You have understood Becker's letter to Houtsma absolutely inaccurately as a malicious attempt to make difficulties for the Editors of the Encyclopaedia [...]. You do him a grave injustice. The fact that he did not turn to you, but to Houtsma, to help Bauer, who by being recalled to Leiden was extremely embarrassed, was at least excusable, since he was not only badly hurt, as we all were, by your article, but especially by your disparaging polemics, based on a misunderstanding, against him (for which, by the way, the correction in the preface is not really sufficient). Not everyone is able to take such a thing lightly. But I repeat, after calmly considering them, nobody can find in his words any malice

61. "En nu, in den laatsten [brief], heeft het den schijn, alsof ik mijnen Duitschen vrienden den oorlog had verklaard." Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam*, 205.

62. Ibid., 212.

63. Ibid., 214.

> at all against the whole enterprise. Could some of the commotion that in your view makes us somewhat blind have affected you? Your harsh opinions have been known for a long time; I need only to remind of your polemic against Van den Berg.[64]

The upshot was that Bauer was reappointed, allowed to work from Halle—which meant that his translations took "4, sometimes 10 days" to reach Leiden—and continued to work—according to Snouck Hurgronje, only half-heartedly—on the encyclopedia for another six or seven years.[65] Although Snouck Hurgronje professed to have no lasting hard feelings from the embroilment during the war, even as concerned Becker,[66] the German furor and virulence in their propaganda war, as in their war, left deep scars in the larger scholarly community.

2.3. *Ostracism*

For nearly a decade after the great war, German scholars—and those of the Central Powers generally—were effectively shut out of participation in scholarly activities abroad. This was felt most deeply in the scientific community, from which many of the signatories of the "Manifesto of the Ninety-Three" came.[67] Their support of the war two months

64. Ibid., 216–17 (emphasis in the original). The "polemic" against Van den Berg took place thirty-one years previously, as Snouck Hurgronje reminded his friend in a long and defensive answer (ibid., 218–24). It concerned their opposite views of how to pacify the resistance of Aceh Muslims to the Dutch authorities and had led to a long-lasting hostility between the two men. For more on their differing views, see Maarten Kuitenbrouwer, *Dutch Scholarship and the Age of Empire and Beyond: KITLV–The Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies, 1851–2011* (Leiden, 2014), 63–72. For a frank look at Snouck Hurgronje, see Michael Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past* (Princeton, 2011), esp. 127–46.

65. "Hij beheert de bibliotheek der DMG., is vervuld met fantasieën van etymologischen aard en behandelt de Encycl., gelijk reeds te vreezen was bij zijn verzoek om verlof tot het wonen te Halle, als bijzaak." Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam*, 241.

66. Ibid., 283. When the Oosters Genootschap, a society established in 1920, held its third conference in the spring of 1923, Becker attended and was a guest of Snouck Hurgronje in his home for the duration. Van der Zande, "Martinus Th. Houtsma," 2:517n118. The Society was founded with the aim "not only to concentrate our own [Dutch] authority in this field, [but] when the occasion presents itself, to also cooperate with others, especially toward the complete restoration of international collaboration" (Snouck Hurgronje, *Orientalism and Islam*, 278; also p. 282). For the third meeting, Snouck Hurgronje also invited Littmann as guest speaker and praised Littmann twice to Nöldeke as pleasant company (letters of March 25 and June 4, 1923). See also De Bruijn, "Collective Studies of the Muslim World," 107.

67. A declaration published in October 1914 exalting the German war cause and justifying the unjustifiable invasion of neutral Belgium, signed by ninety-three intellectuals—scientists, theologians, artists, etc. Although this manifesto made headlines, it was only one of a series of manifestos and countermanifestos, also from British and French side, extolling their country's righteousness. One manifesto

after its start still reverberated strongly at its conclusion, as exemplified by an article entitled "The Arrogance of German Scientists: Has the War Taught Them a Much-Needed Lesson?" appearing in 1919:

> One of the most remarkable aspects of the great war was the extreme jingoism of German men of science, and their emphatic support of the policy of militaristic terrorism. The approving manifesto of ninety-three intellectual leaders, contemporaneously with the rape of Belgium, shocked the civilized world. This led to a careful scrutiny of the German pretensions to superiority over the rest of mankind in scientific discovery and research; and the result has been a conclusive demonstration that such pretensions are largely ill-founded.
>
> The attitude of German naturalists toward the naturalists of other countries has been particularly offensive. In 1913, a year before the outbreak of the war, the International Zoological Congress met at Monaco; and the most notable feature of the meeting was the persistent attempt of the representatives of the German scientific societies arrogantly to force upon the world the adoption of the German system of nomenclature for animal species, "to the exclusion of all attempts to trace out the literary history of each species and to preserve for it the name bestowed by the first author who described or figured it." We quote the language of Lord Walsingham, one of the most eminent of living entomologists, who declares that it is impossible to acquit the highly educated and scientific classes in Germany of sympathy with the world-conquering aspirations of their rulers and the barbarous atrocities they sanctioned.[68]

After a year of total exclusion, when there was no German attendance at international scholarly meetings, the hostility gradually subsided. From 1922 to 1924, "the exclusions applied to 66 and in 1925 to 47 percent of the meetings. A breakthrough occurred in 1926, when the exclusions dropped to about 15 percent [...]."[69] The orientalist congresses themselves had an extended sixteen-year hiatus, not resuming until 1928 when the seventeenth congress took place in Oxford, the location chosen in 1912 for the next conference, which had been stymied by the war.[70] The bad taste of the war lingered, and then was redoubled by the Second World War—Germany would not be a host for some thirty years.[71] Nevertheless, however bruised, after the First World War internationalism still

("Aufruf an die Europäer") was anti-war and called for a union of Europeans; it was signed by only four German intellectuals, Albert Einstein being one of them.

68. *Munsey's Magazine* 66 (1919), 560–61, accessible online through Hathi Trust.

69. Elisabeth Crawford, *Nationalism and Internationalism in Science, 1880–1939: Four Studies of the Nobel Population* (Cambridge, 1992), 56.

70. For the suggestion of Cairo as the location, see n22, above.

71. The twenty-fourth congress was held in Munich in 1957. Between 1938 and 1948 was another gap when no congresses took place, occasioned by the Second World War.

reigned supreme among the top echelons of the encyclopedia.[72] From 1918 on, positions of decision-making at the encyclopedia—editor, publisher, presidents of the executive committee and the supervisory committee—were held by Dutch citizens.[73] The Dutch historically had always looked beyond the confines of their small country, and with their deep ties to Germany and their neutral stance in the war they might have viewed Germans, and certainly their German colleagues and friends, with less rancor than the British or French did.[74] Whether a matter of different psychological makeup or not, the first edition of the encyclopedia under Dutch leadership shows no effects from the war other than delay. The decision in 1949 to not publish the second edition in German had as much to do with other factors as aversion alone; indeed, the Dutch editor, Kramers, supported a German-language edition, and tried, however bumblingly, to promote it, but from the publisher's point of view, it was a purely cost-effective decision and only the English edition was indispensable. The lack of German representation on the editorial board or executive committee in 1949 meant that there was no German resistance, as there was on the part of Lévi-Provençal when a French edition was questioned, to the decision to suspend the German edition.[75] As has been noted in chapter two, some scholars in Germany lobbied for a number of years to recommence an edition in German but with little success.

3

The choice not to publish a German second edition was the catalyst for an array of suspicions and accusations that extended beyond German representation, and made for strange alliances. In the fall of 1954 a Turkish historian, Zeki Velidi Togan, wrote to Paul Kahle that he had spoken to some other Muslims after the Cambridge congress (23rd Congress of Orientalists, August 21–28, 1954) and they agreed that,

72. See Houtsma's recollections, text at chapter one, n208.

73. See chapter one, text at n215.

74. Cf. Snouck Hurgronje's rebuttal to Nöldeke (1985a, 284) of an apparent notice in a (German?) newspaper regarding a collusion among hotels in Rotterdam to bar Germans: "An agreement among hotels as suggested would, especially in R[otterdam], be immediately made undone by the many Germans who live there and by the many Rotterdammers who have very close German ties." This did not hold true following the Second World War, when Germany invaded Holland, breaching its neutrality: a survey taken in 1993 among 1,807 secondary school students—and repeated in 1995 among 1,076 students—revealed that Germans were widely disliked and seen as arrogant and domineering, a prejudice based less on interaction with Germans as on the trickle-down effect of continued societal animosity. Henk Dekker and Lutsen B. Jansen, "Attitudes and Stereotypes of Young People in the Netherlands with Respect to Germany," in *The Puzzle of Integration*, ed. Sibylle Hübner-Funk et al., European Yearbook on Youth Policy and Research, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1995), 49–61.

75. For French discontent at the mention of discontinuation of the French edition, see chapter two, n28.

> the old edition represented the different points of view of different orientalists who had written the articles according to their own individual standpoint, and that in that edition, although it was somewhat incomplete, every contributor enjoyed complete freedom of expression. In the new edition the reader finds a kind of monopoly and a predominance of Jewish scholars. A learned member of the Turkish parliament told me already in March that the articles concerning the Abbasids underestimates all the prominent persons of that period in the history of Islam.[76]

Kahle, who for reasons of his own was a major agitator,[77] proceeded to inform Posthumus of Togan's comments. In his letter he provided a longer extract of Togan's words:

> On account of the new edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam, I spoke with Prof. Muhammed Shafi (Lahore) and Seyyid Hasan Takizade (Tehran), and here in Istanbul with more people. Everyone was agreed that in the old edition of the E.I. the different orientalists were free to express their views. In the new edition one has the feeling that a one-sided viewpoint is being reproduced, that a type of Israeli monopoly exists in the portrayal. The learned member of parliament Kasim Küfrewi, a Kurd, who previously was a member of our faculty, told me in March already [...].[78]

Posthumus, with Wieder in tow, consulted with Schacht, who then wrote to apprise Gibb of the matter.[79] Shocked, Gibb immediately wrote Togan, copying word for word the paragraph that was making the rounds and commenting that,

> I read every article published in the new edition, and I am personally responsible for the acceptance of about three quarters of all articles. Your criticism therefore amounts to this: that I do not allow contributors to express their

76. An extract of a letter to Kahle that he sent to Mohammed Mostafa, Director of the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo, to point out, with other letters, "problems of the Encyclopaedia." Kahle to Mostafa, August 10, 1955. The Togan letter to Kahle was sent November 21, 1954. For Paul Kahle, see chapter two, n129. For Z. V. Togan (1890–1970), see the obituary notice by G. Wheeler (with a birthdate of 1891), in *Asian Affairs* 2 (1971), 56; and Togan's *Memoirs: National Existence and Cultural Struggles of Turkistan and Other Muslim Eastern Turks*, tr. H. B. Paksoy (self-published by translator, 2012). The article ʿAbbāsids for the second edition was written by Bernard Lewis.

77. Some weeks later (August 29, 1955) Kahle would write to Enno Littmann, as reported in chapter two, n76, that he would be the last to begrudge him an honor, but did Littmann really think that his appointment on the executive committee was an honor? Rather, it was a pro forma choice of a German "of whom one was sure that he would not interfere in anything."

78. Kahle to Posthumus, November 25, 1954. Harvard University Archives, H. A. R. Gibb Papers, box 2, folder 11.

79. Schacht to Gibb, December 11, 1954. Harvard University Archives, H. A. R. Gibb Papers, box 2, folder 11.

> own opinions, and that I am responsible for propagating a point of view which amounts to an Israelite monopoly in the presentation of the materials. [...] I note, however, that you do not offer any evidence from the contributors themselves of this alleged pressure on them. [...] I should be grateful if you would either kindly confirm your statement that I have put pressure on contributors in any way whatever, or else unreservedly withdraw your accusations.

In response, Togan—who was more upset that a private letter of his had reached Gibb—fanned the fires even more, connecting the lack of a German edition with Jewish obstruction and expressing outright anti-Semitic sentiments framed in the mouths of others:

> Even the abandoning of the idea of the German version of EI may have had a similar motive, as it is rumoured. [...] After the session the question [posed by Khalafullah, which went unanswered by Gibb] was discussed. One said that Germans do very well read[ing] English or French. The other said, the same can be said of Frenchmen, and one could easily [be] content with the unique English edition. An Arab has also remarked there that [the] new edition of EI seemed to have been planned under the spirit of the Nurnberg period of Allies and Jews. It was also told there, that Mr. Steiner was an Hungarian Jew trained in Israil, that my friend Bernard Lewis was a candidate of the portfolis of Ministry of Education in Israil cabi[n]et, that Mr. Levi Provençal and Brunschwig under the mask of Frenchmen publish scientific reviews on Islamic and Arabic Culture, Mr. Levi Provinçal fanatically hated the Germans [...] it was said, it would have been better if these gentlemen had publish[ed] the new EI in Tel-Aviv instead of Leiden.
>
> I and Dr. Muhsin Mahdi had already in Cambridge suggested to certain Muslim colleagues to take an active part in the new E.I., and to talk with you, Levi-Provinçal and Schacht. But they replied to laisses faire, and thought that it was too late, that the Jews were entire masters of EI, and that instead of participating in the new edition of EI they should better complete their national editions of EI.[80]

Included in Togan's letter was more detailed critique of Bernard Lewis's article on the Abbasids, put in the mouth of another:

> Therefore it is comprehensible that a educated Turk, who is not at all antiSemite and who esteems Mr. B.Lewis as a friend of Turks, had found it strange to read his words (in one of his articles) "the flattered Islamic pride with the spectacle of a culture that was visibly and palpably inferior" as the basic idea of his "Abbasids" in the EI, and see that B.Lewis's estimation of the Abbasid dynasty

80. Letter Togan to Gibb, January 9, 1955. Harvard University Archives, H. A. R. Gibb Papers, box 2, folder 11. From this, an extract, worded slightly differently, was also sent by Kahle to Mostafa, see n76, above.

> was simplified to "stronger than the Umayyads and weaker than the old Oriental despots" and that Lewis found among these rulers not a single prominent personality to note [...].[81]

These words reek of an orientalist perspective (see below), but Gibb had no compuction defending Lewis or the description of weak Abbasids—indeed, he turned the tables, insinuating between the lines that the misunderstanding lay with the miscomprehension of the reader, for the phrase in question related "solely to the bureaucratic organization of government [...] which is a mere statement of fact and, I believe, incontrovertible."[82] Nevertheless, Gibb was very disturbed by the anti-Jewish rants—the accusation aimed at Stern, however corrupted the name, was bound to agitate him. Togan wrote back to acquit himself with an age-old defense:

> Your letter of February 1st contains expressions of your indignation directed against me. But these are quite uncalled for. [...] In the country of my birth, in Bashkiria (Bashqurteli), there has never been any anti-semitism, and hardly any Jews have ever existed there. When I, with my friends, constituted the Government there, I chose to employ as my secretary, a Jew, called Markov. He remained in that post for three years and none thought of objecting to him on that score. Another of my comrades under the National Government of that period, employed in an administrative post, in directing the finances of the Government, was also a Jew [...].

He then proceeded to get himself in truly hot water:

> But the questions discussed in Cambridge in connection with the Encyclopaedia are another matter. I presume that if the Encyclopaedia Britanica were to be directed by a Jew, you Englishmen, would see nothing in this to object to, and would regard it as entirely natural under your present circumstances. But Muslim scholars, under their present circumstances feel it just as natural for them to be thoughtful about the future effects of an Encyclopaedia of Islam on Muslim intellectuals. Because, a State of Israel has been founded right beside them. This is both a nationalistic state and the representative of world Jewry. As such, it is ceaseless in its efforts to penetrate everywhere. Among other fields, an effort and desire to monopolize Oriental studies and to influence world opinon through scholarly channels can be discerned. The Arabs feel it their duty to be on guard against this. And the Arabs are not entirely alone in the feeling.[83]

81. Ibid.
82. Gibb to Togan, February 1, 1955. Harvard University Archives, H. A. R. Gibb Papers, box 2, folder 11.
83. Togan to Gibb, April 22, 1955. Harvard University Archives, H. A. R. Gibb Papers, box 2, folder 11.

No answer from Gibb is extant, but Kahle persisted in spreading discontent and was instrumental a few months later in apprising the publisher of a flare-up of larger proportions that occurred when the continued resentment felt by Germans and Muslims regarding their lack of presence, and the presence of others, on the encyclopedia's governing committees boiled over, coalescing in the person of the imam of the German Muslim community in Karachi.[84] It took on an unwholesome form. At the end of August 1955, the following editorial appeared in the Pakistani Urdu daily *Jang*, calling for protest letters to be sent to E. J. Brill:

> There could be no greater illustration of the intellectual and cultural decadence of the Muslims of the world than that the weighty work on Islamic History, civilisation and culture called Encyclopaedia of Islam has been prepared by non-Muslims so far. For this reason certain things appeared in this literary work which were contrary to Islamic beliefs, traditions and history and which enabled the opponents to make attacks on Islam. This was inevitable because the compilers in many respects did not have sufficient knowledge nor sympathy with their subject. They, therefore, put things in this compilation which should not have been included. Even then the editions of this work published so far, though disappointing in certain respects, contained some valuable information. But the edition which is now being prepared is bound to be more disappointing than before because the editors include many Jewish scholars. Muslim researchers and German scholars who are deeply interested in Islamic studies are excluded from the Executive Committee and instead Jews have been included. Today even though the Muslim world has not emerged from its period of decay it would not be right to assume that there is a dearth of scholars in the Muslim world who are fit to be useful members of the Committee for the compilation of this work on account of their wide researches and intellectual probity. Similarly German scholars who have a deep insight into Islamic culture have not been appointed members of this committee. This shows dishonest dealing on the part of those who appoint the Committee. In these circumstances we strongly support the protest made by Mr. Aman Hobohm, Imam of German Muslim community, against the personnel of the committee of editors. We demand of the publishers of the Encyclopaedia to rectify this mistake and to replace Jewish members with Muslim and German scholars so that justice may be done to Muslim history and the consipiracy of the Jews against the world of Islam may not succeed. It is necessary that before 12th September protest let-

84. An ulterior motive on Kahle's part might be sought in the fact of Gibb leaving Oxford for Harvard at this time and resigning from his editorship on the encyclopedia, which nevertheless did not take effect immediately. Kahle may have been angling on the part of a new editorial appointee. See chapter two, text following n177.

> ters from Pakistan should go to the following address: Dr. N. W. Posthumus, E. I. Brills Boekhandel, Leyden Holland.[85]

As alluded to in the editorial, the uproar originated in an article by Mohammad Aman Hobohm that was published a few days earlier in *Dawn* and taken over by other Pakistani newspapers.[86] It was entitled "No Muslim Participation ???" and it castigated the second edition—after enumerating the German assistants to the first edition, Hartmann, Schaade, Bauer, and Heffening—(1) for the lack of a German edition ("due to strong anti-German tendency on the part of some influential members of this committee"), (2) for there being "no Muslim orientalist, although suitable Muslim scholars are easily available," (3) for "no German scholar [being] in the executive, although German orientalists have contributed a major share to the study of Islam and to the first edition of the Encyclopaedia," and (4) for "two Jews, namely Lévy Provençale and Stern occupy[ing] an important key position in the committee [...]." It ended with a warning and a call for action:

> Bearing in mind that the Encyclopaedia of Islam was and will be the most important and prominent source from which research scholars as well as the broad public all over the world will draw their informations about the various aspects of Islam, it is the most imperative duty of the whole Muslim world to keep an extremely watchful and suspicious eye on the work of those persons who are entrusted with this publication. It is proposed here that Muslim governments, Muslim institutions, and Muslim individuals from all over the world of Islam may strongly protest against the appointment of two Jews in leading positions of the Executive Committee of the Encyclopaedia. The Muslim world should demand that: a) At least one or two Muslim scholars of repute should be made members of the international committee as well as of the executive committee of the Encyclopaedia of Islam. b) The amount of Jewish influence must be decreased if not at all abolished. c) The new edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam should appear in its original form, i.e. in English, French and German. d) German scholars should be given their due place in the Board of Editors in recognition of their great services rendered to the study of Islam.[87]

A letter to the editor by Sh[eikh] Inayatullah that qualified or refuted many of the article's points was published in the same daily of September 1. The author, whose affiliation was Govt. College, Lahore, omitted any mention of his involvement with the ency-

85. A translation of the editorial, dated August 27, 1955, was sent to Posthumus by Paul Kahle.

86. It was also published in *Morning News* (August 24) and *Pakistan Standard* (August 25). Kahle to Posthumus, September 3, 1955. For Mohammad Aman Hobohm (né Herbert Hobohm, 1926–2014), see his biography in the German Wikipedia.

87. According to Bernard Lewis, Karachi was an odd origin for the fiery letter and the letter-writer had been helped by "a still unreconstructed German diplomat who had just been posted there, and had taken this task upon himself." Bernard Lewis, *Islam and the West* (New York, 1993), 104–5.

clopedia, for which he had authored eleven articles in the first four fascicules that had been published to date,[88] and with the Urdu edition, of which he was an advisory board member.[89] He staunchly rebuffed the imam's points:

> I wish to remind him in this connection that the Encyclopaedia in question is a Western enterprise planned by Western scholars and sponsored and financed by Western Academies. Moreover, it is being written according to the principles and methods of Western scholarship. In these circumstances, they are not in duty bound to include any Muslim scholar in the Executive Committee.
>
> I may point out in this connection that Professor Joseph Schacht, a well-known German scholar, is already on the Board of Editors.
>
> [Lévi-Provençal's] Jewish faith does not detract one iota from the value and scientific character of his academic work. [...] He has as much right to be a Jew as Herr Hobohm has to be a Muslim.

He did share the imam's wish for a German edition, but suggested that "the probable explanation of the absence of a German edition is that the Publishers [...] did not expect a sufficiently large number of buyers, considering the disorganised state of the German people and German academic life six years previously, when the work on the Revised edition was taken in hand."

Following upon the call to write in protest, E. J. Brill began receiving letters protesting the alleged Jewish influence on the encyclopedia and demanding more Muslim presence on each of the boards. The letters were "obviously dispatched by mutual arrangement," Posthumus informed Berg, who was ready to capitulate to the uproar ("the question arises, however, whether it would not be wise to invite one or two well-known Muslim Orientalists to join the inner circle"), worrying in particular about the effect it would have on the subventioning bodies supporting the encyclopedia.[90]

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88. According to the "Report of the Editorial Committee, July 1955," the first encyclopedia fascicule appeared, after revision, in January 1954, followed by the second in June, the third in December, and the fourth in June 1955.

89. "A Scheme of an Encyclopaedia of Islam in Urdu, as adopted by the University Encyclopaedia Committee," Panjab University Press, published July 20, 1949. For the Urdu edition, see chapter two, text at n69. Sheikh Inayatullah (dates unknown) finished his doctoral thesis ("The Influence of Physical Environment upon Arabian Life and Institutions") at SOAS in 1931 under Gibb (Arnold, his original doctoral supervisor, had died the year previously). He prepared a bibliography of Gibb's writings for the years 1922–1960 ("an expression of my personal affection for you"), meant to be "a preliminary step to the full and detailed appraisal of your work which it is my cherished desire to write in the near future [...]." To my knowledge, neither was published. Inayatullah to Gibb, October 19, 1960. Harvard University Archives, H. A. R. Gibb Papers, box 2, folder 11.

90. Berg to J. Pedersen, September 2, 1955. No example of a protest letter is found in the encyclopedia documentation.

This accusation of lack of Muslim participation in and protest against Jewish influence on the encyclopedia was raised on the second day of the executive committee meeting in Copenhagen a month later and was emphatically rejected. It was unanimously agreed to adopt the following—somewhat oblique—explanation as refutation:

> The new edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam is an international scholarly enterprise under the patronage of the International Union of Academies, and orientalists of recognized competence have been invited to contribute to it on a basis of complete fraternal equality; these orientalists may, of course, be oriental Muslims.[91] It is, moreover, with this in mind that the Comité de Direction of the Encyclopaedia has co-opted a number of Associate Members representing the principal oriental countries, viz. Messrs. Adnan Adivar (Turkey), A. A. A. Fyzee (India), H. H. Abdul Wahab (Tunisia), Hasan Taghizade (Iran), Husain Djajadiningrat (Indonesia), Ibrahim Madkour (Egypt), Khalil Mardan Bey (Syria), Muhammad Shafi (Pakistan), Naji al-Asil (Iraq), E. Tyan (Lebanon). A number of articles which Oriental scholars have been invited to contribute, have already appeared or will appear in future.
>
> For these reasons, the Comité de Direction rejects as unfounded the allegations contained in the tract in question, just as it rejects as entirely inadmissible on the scholarly plane, the only one which enters into consideration certain tendentious observations in the same tract on the racial or religious origins attributed to certain of its members or contributors.
>
> Accordingly, it commissions its member Professor Posthumus, to whom it was suggested in the tract in question that personal protests instigated by it should be sent, to confine himself in reply to each of these protests to sending a copy of the text of this resolution.[92]

This flare-up seems to have died down, but there continued to be mixed reviews from Muslims. In 1995 and 1997 two booklets appeared in a series devoted to correcting erroneous information published on Islam and Muslims.[93] The first, written in Arabic by ʿAlā Muḥyī l-Dīn al-Qarah Dāghī, was entitled *al-ʿAqīda l-islāmiyya* (The Islamic creed); the second, in French, was entitled *Le Coran*. Both had the subtitle, in their respective languages, "Study to Correct the Erroneous Information Contained in the Encyclopaedia of Islam Published by Brill, Leiden" and were published by ISESCO (Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), the Director-General of which, elected in 1991 and

91. The draft statement had included the clause "if their previous scholarly work is of a nature to justify their collaboration," but it was crossed out and did not appear in the final statement.

92. Document B, appended to the minutes of the executive meeting of September 27, 1955.

93. Silsilat taṣḥīḥ mā yunshar ʿan al-islām wa-l-muslimīn min maʿlūmāt khāṭiʾa = Série des corrections des informations erronées publiées sur l'Islam et les Musulmans. These two booklets seem to be the only titles published in the series.

reelected for the sixth time in 2015, is Abdulaziz Othman Altwaijri.[94] The errors noted in the encyclopedia were those that offended sensitivities, stemming as they did from scholarship that deviated from the traditional Muslim view, such as discussion of the human provenance of the Quran or tracing the etymology of the term Allāh to Aramaic, "and this is a clear error, since this word is Arabic of origin, root, and derivation" (*wa-hādhā khaṭaʾun wāḍiḥun, fa-hādhihī l-lafẓ ʿarabiyyatu l-aṣl wa-l-maṣdar wa-l-ishtiqāq*).[95] Only a handful of these booklets have found their way into libraries, and on account of the small scale promotion they went completely unnoticed by the editors of the encyclopedia; even had they been remarked upon, they would have been seen as undeserving of a response on their face. Although the intent of both encyclopedia and booklets was to contribute to and advance a wider understanding of Islamic belief and practice, the audience addressed by these respective publications occupied no middle ground.

4

The Encyclopaedia of Islam is a monumental work.[96] Its size alone would afford it this status, as would the sheer number of years spent in assembling it. But it is truly monumental because it will forever be associated with so many of the great Western scholars of Islam of its time. In its pages are to be found their writings contributing either original ideas or state-of-the-art summaries of the available scholarship. Many of these are gems that can be appreciated simply on account of their ability to capture a large amount of knowledge in the smallest possible space. The opposite is also true: some articles are unmatched on account of their ability to preserve unaltered the unintelligibility of a difficult subject.

Gems or pieces of coal aside, the encyclopedia is a monument as well because it presents in toto the results of a century of "a Number of Leading Orientalists," as the encyclopedia's second edition announces on its title page.[97] This proud affirmation, although the term "orientalist" has now a drastically altered connotation, confirms the encyclopaedia's credentials as a product of Europe's—or the West's—best scholars of the languages and cultures of the Muslim world; "orientalists" here should be understood in its most inoffensive sense. Nevertheless, in the years of decolonization following the Second World War, the term progressively lost its innocence, and its being touted for sixty years

94. A Saudi citizen living in Morocco, Altwaijri (b. 1950) is a graduate of King Saud University, Riyadh, and earned a Ph.D. in Curriculum in 1982 from the University of Oregon (www.rfp.org).

95. Respectively, *al-ʿAqīda l-islāmiyya*, 13; *Le Coran*, 17–23.

96. This section is an adaptation of my talk titled "Three Masons and a Monument: Gibb, Schacht, and Lévi-Provençal of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*," given at the Collège de France on July 3, 2003.

97. The subtitle of the first edition defines the work as a "Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography and Biography of the Muhammedan Peoples." The use of "Muhammedan" is as outdated as the term "orientalist" in its original sense—a scholar trained in the history and language(s) of an area to the east of Europe—but its usage must be attributed to the times in which it appeared.

as a major selling point for the encyclopedia probably does not figure among one of the greatest marketing achievements.[98]

A picture of the second edition's editorial board, taken in Leiden on June 8, 1954 at the close of an editorial meeting (fig. 10), features Schacht, Lévi-Provençal, and Gibb seated prominently in the front, with Pellat and Stern, the two secretaries at the time, standing in the rear. The photograph was taken in Snouck Hurgronje's former bedroom—a classroom in the early 1980s when his residence housed the Department of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish Studies at Leiden University—and a picture of Snouck Hurgronje, looking benignly down upon the group, hangs on the wall to the left of Stern; two framed photographs have been strategically placed on an armoire also to the left of Stern, one of Kramers, Schacht's predecessor on the editorial board until his death in 1951, and the other of Wensinck, the successor to Houtsma of the first edition. The photograph, formal despite the smiling Board members (that is, all but Pellat, who is looking away from the photographer in studied indifference), exudes an atmosphere of camaraderie and collegiality, not least in the homage it pays to the giants of the generation prior to these similarly great scholars.

As narrated in chapter two, both Gibb and Lévi-Provençal came to the second edition with experience of having editing the first. They were very close in age—they were born one year apart—and their interest in Islamic studies was surely sparked by their having been born and brought up among Muslims, in Alexandria and Algiers respectively.[99] They shared an immense erudition and an impressive acquaintance with Arabic literature; and both imbued their historical writing with a deep sense and understanding of Muslim society. They also shared an equally short tenure as editor of the second edition: Gibb stepped down, at least nominally, when he left Oxford for Harvard University in 1955, and Lévi-Provençal died the following year, only sixty-two years old. Gibb wrote in total forty-four articles for the encyclopedia,[100] among which the larger articles Taʾrīkh ("History," for the first edition) and ʿArabiyya.B. Arabic Literature (for the second edition).

98. Already in 1973, the International Congress of Orientalists, which had convened since 1873 under this name, dropped its use of the term; from 1973–1976 they called themselves the International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa, changing again to the International Congress of Asian and North African Studies (ICANAS) from 1976 on. Even apart from the image assigned to the term, which, it is argued, was a construct meant to be contrasted to the "civilized" West, the creation of a united but amorphous geographical space called the "Orient" became untenable.

99. In addition to the bibliography cited in chapter two, nn12 and 13, biographies of both are to be found in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, *Mawsūʿat al-mustashriqīn* (Beirut, 1984), 105–7 (Gibb), 354–57 (Lévi-Provençal).

100. Of which thirteen appeared in the first edition. The first one, "Kerri"—12 lines on a village and district fifty miles north of Khartoum—was in 1926. Having stepped down as editor, Gibb stopped contributing as well; his last articles for the encyclopedia were published in 1958.

Lévi-Provençal wrote 148 articles for the encyclopedia,[101] among which the large articles on Morocco and the Umayyads of Spain for the first edition, and al-Andalus for the second, his prolific contribution ending, of course, abruptly with his death. Schacht was the youngest of the three, in years and in encyclopedia service, although neither by much.[102] His interest in Islamic law, in which field he would make his mark, was triggered by his professor, the great Semitist Gotthelf Bergsträsser.[103] At the time of his death in 1969, Schacht was widely hailed as the leading Western authority on Islamic law, and his reputation since has suffered only marginally by the controversy now surrounding some of his more dogmatic statements. From 1927 on, when his article Ḳatl appeared in the first edition, Schacht became the encyclopedia author on law par excellence; his scholarship dominated the first edition's presentation on Islamic law, with most of the major articles (other than that on "trusts," *waqf*) being written by him. Schacht's encyclopedia output would total eighty-six articles.

Since 1978, the year in which Edward Said published his polemical study *Orientalism*, the term has been much used and abused. In its extreme Saidian sense it defines a mode of thought based on a need for dominating and having authority over the object of study. According to Said, orientalism, which in his view can be traced to the days of Homer and Euripides, imagined the (or, an) Orient and then systematically sustained the myth of its being "backward, degenerate, uncivilized," unequal, and many other, equally pejorative adjectives.[104] Orientalism, in Said's assessment, took as its starting point a comparison between West and East and latently or blatantly judged progress and development in terms of the East's failure to measure up. For Said, orientalism is an inherently political doctrine and all who practice it are ethnocentric, or worse, imperialist. Other criticisms of orientalist scholarship—or even of specific scholars—have centered on what the critics see as a contrasting religious doctrine, and they point out unsympathetic or inemical approaches to Islam and Muslim beliefs; these critics decry the disregard—or disrespect—for the sacredness of faith[105] and the portrayal of Islam as "deeply flawed both as a reli-

101. Of which 125 were for the first edition. Ninety articles were entries on Muslim Spain: fifty-one (of which two for the second edition) topographical and thirty-nine (fifteen for the second edition) historical; the rest treated the topography and history of the Maghrib.

102. Schacht was eight years younger than Lévi-Provençal, seven years younger than Gibb; his encyclopedia work on the first edition was limited to contributing articles, the first of which was commissioned before he was twenty-five years old. For biographical data, see chapter two, n134.

103. Lived 1886–1933. Obituary notice by Max Meyerhof, in *Isis* 25 (1936), 60–62; for a discussion of Bergsträsser's unfortunate death (or, murder?) in the Alps, see Gabriel Said Reynolds, ed., *The Qurʾān in Its Historical Context* (London, 2008), 4–5.

104. Said, *Orientalism*, 206–7 and passim. For a comprehensive account of the book and the debates it spawned, see Daniel M. Varisco, *Reading Orientalism: Said and the Unsaid* (Seattle, 2007, 2nd. ed. 2017).

105. Cf. A. L. Tibawi, "Second Critique of English-Speaking Orientalists and Their Approach to Islam and the Arabs," *Islamic Quarterly* 8 (1979), 10–11. But see Gibb's rebuttal of this, in a piece on the ency-

gion and a civilization."[106] Islam, they argue, has been portrayed as demonic and, since the onset of globalization, even as if its ultimate goal—and what every Muslim strives for—is the utter destruction of the West.[107]

In its most abusive sense, therefore, orientalism is characterized as reductionist, misrepresentative, and repetitive in its deployment of negative and ingrained tropes. That the phenomenon is not limited to a Western portrayal of "the other" is shown by orientalism's counterpart in occidentalism, which paints "the dehumanizing picture of the West"[108] much as orientalism has portrayed the East, or Near East. Both isms share a vocabulary of dichotomy and essentialization; they speak in terms of two fundamentally different civilizations, the "Western" and the "Islamic." Sometimes they are combined, unknowingly, as in a call to Muslims to avoid "the verdicts of those who admit that what they say is meant not for Muslims but for non-Muslims" (that is, the encyclopedia), which was published in the fall of 1954 as a frontpage editorial in the bimonthly organ of the Holy Quran Society (Karachi, Pakistan), *Al-Islam*.[109] The opinion writer was upset that "our Intelligentisa go on quoting the articles of that work even though some of the things said therein are most mischievous." In his attack on Western scholarship, he managed to subscribe to orientalist notions of Islamic civilization's degradation and decline:

> Why should, then, the followers of Islam be foolish enough to look to that work as an authoritative work on Islam? Yet, we find some of our Intelligentsia, who claim to be the most enlightened people, quoting its articles as authority for their wild claims. In this connection it would not be out of place to point out that most of the writers of articles in this huge work have based their theories about Islamic culture on books like the *Kitab al-Aghani* which depict the cultural degradation of the world of Islam in an age of decline. The *Kitab al-Aghani* is a book of songs and anecdotes connected with singers. To make it the basis for the construction of Islamic cultural background is dishonest and many of the

clopedia that preceded the wave of orientalist criticism by fourteen years: "But this has to be regarded as inevitable in any encyclopaedia which does not approach the problems of scholarship from a specific religious standpoint. The same dissatisfaction is felt with [...] standard western encyclopaedias [...] by those who belong to specific religious communities in the west; and for this reason there exist alongside them such other encyclopaedias as the *Catholic Encyclopaedia* and the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*. These have their special value for presenting aspects of the general subjects which are, in the view of the adherents of those faiths, inadequately treated in the standard works [...]." "The Encyclopaedia of Islam," *The Islamic Literature* 2 (1950), 337–38.

106. Leonard Binder, *Islamic Liberalism: A Critique of Development Ideologies* (Chicago, 1988), 106.

107. Ziauddin Sardar, *Orientalism* (Philadelphia, 1999), 111.

108. Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit, *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of Its Enemies* (New York, 2005), 5.

109. "Western Sources of Islamic Learning," in *Al-Islam* 2,19 (October 1, 1954), 1. According to the unnamed writer, Gibb followed his admission with "if the followers of Islam do not like things contained in it they should compile a similar work of their own."

> writers of the articles in the *Encyclopaedia* have done that. We do not condemn them for we know they did that intentionally to malign Islam. But for the Followers of Islam to go to that work for knowledge and inspiration is not only discraceful but also hypocritical.[110]

Such essentialization of complex civilizations has made it possible that we continue to speak and write with relative ease about an Islam, the religion, that defines everything a Muslim everywhere is, does, and thinks, and a West, an undefined place, that stands for everything its counterpart, the East, is not or does not want to be. All other defining characteristics—societal, cultural, political, economic, educational—are irrelevant. Hence the plethora of such book titles as *Islam and America*, *Islam and Civilization*, *Islam and Democracy*, even ten titles of *Islam and the West*, found randomly in Harvard's libraries.

With the abundant literature on orientalism, and especially the divisive tones in which it is played out, one can easily forget that the scholarship using Western methods to research issues having to do with Muslim civilization does not have to be inherently political or anti-religious, or consciously misrepresentative. It can be undertaken with the best of intentions. Albert Hourani, for one, deeply regretted the attack on orientalism, as much as he accepted its tenets, because, as he said, "it illustrated how little the stereotyped 'Orientalist' explained a given, outstanding Orientalist."[111]

Acceptance of the fact that "orientalism" need not be on its face nefarious does not lessen the impact its more egregious form has had on generations of scholars, and it should not stifle the call to rid scholarship of the discourse of difference, of an assumption of two irreconcilable worlds, or civilizations.[112] Pure objectivity is very difficult to attain; it does not follow, however, that all scholarship of a culture other than one's own is inherently skewed or insensitive. Gibb, Lévi-Provençal, and Schacht will be remembered as great orientalist scholars—not least because they were involved in a publication that prominently lists them as such—who paved the way for many to follow. Were they, and by extension the encyclopedia, also swept up in the sweepingly negative orientalist scholarship of which Said speaks? An equally sweeping examination of both their own

110. Ironically, a large advertisement alongside the editorial on the frontpage lists Books on Islamic History and Culture for sale, among which are P. K. Hitti's *History of the Arabs* and *History of Syria*, H. W. Hazard's *Atlas of Islamic History*, C. A. Storey's bio-bibliographical survey of Persian literature, and R. A. Nicholson's *A Literary History of the Arabs*.

111. Gaby Piterberg, "Albert Hourani and Orientalism," in *Middle Eastern Politics and Ideas: A History from Within*, ed. Moshe Ma'oz and Ilan Pappé (London, 1997), 78.

112. Bryan Turner has suggested that "the continuities between various cultures rather than their antagonisms" be emphasized, which alternative would go a long way to eliminating the negative implications and moral criticisms, however subtle, that slip into a study of the other. See his *Orientalism, Postmodernism and Globalism* (London, 1994), 102. A "discourse of difference" is adapted from his advocating there a "discourse of sameness."

articles in the encyclopedia and those one can presume they accepted for publication during their years of encyclopedia service provides a quick answer.[113]

Even a cursory look at the later volumes of the first edition of the encyclopedia reveals that they are not free of a judgmental temper, where alterity is posited almost mechanically and where negativity, standing in for objectivity, supplies a final flourish. Examples like the following three sentences are not too hard to find:

> Meshhed is not only one of the most fanatical cities in the whole Muslim world but also one of the most immoral in Asia.[114]

> Senegal was perhaps the first of all the negro countries of Africa to succumb to the attacks of Islām.[115]

> The Islām of the people of Sīwa seems somewhat barbarous and sectarian.[116]

Such subjective statements surprise us today, but eighty years ago they were clearly acceptable, even for inclusion in the encyclopedia. Along similar lines, but positively tinted, is the final sentence of Gibb's article on al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh from the first edition: after a description of the fourth Fatimid caliph's "singularly noble character," his capable administrative qualities, and just treatment of his subjects, Gibb appends:

> No instance of cruelty is recorded of him [...] and he was completely devoid of religious fanaticism.[117]

It reads as an afterthought, as when one would say after describing a lovely holiday in Ireland, "And it didn't rain at all." Such a strain of thought that almost unconsciously attaches negative behavior to its object of research can be illustrative of the opposition in moral terms of the two societies that was played out in early orientalist scholarship. If the one was immoral, aggressive, and fanatic, it was tacitly understood that this was in opposition to the other.

113. Gibb's view of the role of an encyclopedia editor, which was mostly shared by the editors I worked with except for Pellat (see chapter two, text at n299) and Bianquis (ibid., text following n378), was that "the editor's duty is to select the contributor and to lay down limits of size. He is not entitled to control or to revise the contributor's work in any other sense. The article is the sole responsibility of the scholar concerned [...]. An editor may discuss informally certain points, if he thinks it desirable, but ultimately he must either accept or reject the article as it stands [...]." "The Encyclopaedia of Islam," 336.

114. *EI*1, "Meshhed" (M. Streck), 3:477.

115. *EI*1, "Senegal" (M. Delafosse), 4:224.

116. *EI*1, "Sīwa" (E. Laoust), 4:463. "Sectarian" seems to refer to different Sufi orders, as Laoust follows with "Some are attached to the Sanūsīya and others to the Medānī sect."

117. *EI*1, "al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh" (H. A. R. Gibb), 3:707.

Although in this sense there is a world of difference between the first edition of the encyclopedia, where such reduction is rife, and the second edition, in the course of which there developed a recognition of essentialism and exoticism in scholarship, in the first volumes of the second edition such dichotomization of the other nevertheless persisted. The despotic and brutal character of rulers still sets the tone for an entire article. In the article ʿAbbādids by Lévi-Provençal, the caliphate is described on the basis of its attacks, appropriations, annexations, molestations, mayhem, and murders; this is laid out factually, if grimly, in four columns. In contrast to the above example of Gibb, however, Lévi-Provençal sums up his description on a positive note:

> With him, in these lamentable circumstances, ended the dynasty [...], which may be regarded, notwithstanding the excesses and cruelty of its princes, as the most brilliant of the dynasties of the taifas and indubitably that under which the arts and letters shone most brightly in Muslim Spain of the eleventh century.[118]

This final sentence—as tantalizing as it is hasty—is also noteworthy because it is exemplary of another paradigm found in orientalist writings: that of the decline of Muslim civilization. The pervasive theory of a meteoric rise and a dramatic fall, one accompanied by stultification, rigidity, and unfulfilled promise in all disciplines for many centuries, can also be found in the pages of the early second edition. Gibb, for example, mentions it in his article on Arabic literature. There one finds a discussion of the "scholasticism" that dominated from the twelfth century, the "increasing stratification and narrowing down of scholastic thought," and encouraging of "standardisation" whereby "originality of thought reaped little reward." The Ottoman conquest of Syria and Egypt, he writes, brought on a "rapid dessication of most other branches of literary activity."[119] Islamic law does not fare any better with Schacht, who considered the religious law "rigid," "an unattainable ideal," and "without practical significance," and posited a gulf between doctrine and practice that held its own for many decades.[120] This alleged gap between the religious ideal and the political reality is also a standard theme of orientalism.

Another orientalist dichotomy is modern versus traditional, played out against the backdrop of Europe versus Islam. It is exemplified by the second edition's article on ʿAbd

118. *EI*2, "ʿAbbādids" (E. Lévi-Provençal), 1:7. By the publication of the third volume (1971), all three original editors had died; for another dynasty described only in the light of assassinations, battles, murder, tyranny, vengeance, and the like, see "Ḥammādids" (H. R. Idris), 3:137–39.

119. *EI*2, "ʿArabiyya" (H. A. R. Gibb), 1:592–96.

120. E.g., *EI*1, "Sharīʿa" (J. Schacht), 4:322 ("[The representatives of the religious and juridical ideals] then began [...] to take a pleasure in developing their doctrine of duties in an ideal direction in a way which became more and more irreconcilable with practical life"); *EI*2, "Fiḳh" (J. Schacht), 2:891 ("Until the early ʿAbbāsid period, Islamic jurisprudence had been adaptable and growing, but from then onwards it became increasingly rigid and set in its final mould").

al-ʿAzīz b. al-Ḥasan, Moroccan sultan until 1908, of whom it is said that his "natural taste for modernism" was encouraged by his European instructor of the infantry, who introduced "cameras, billiards, etc." into his palaces, but that this, along with the sultan's contemplating an "equitable reform of taxes" which would "abolish the privileges and immunities of the existing system" so shocked the "conservative feelings of the Moroccans" that it ultimately, six years later, led to his being dethroned.[121] This sultan's fourteen-year reign, which must have been filled with more political and pertinent events than assigned it in the encyclopedia, is thus summed up for posterity with the vocabulary of progressive versus conservative, and equitable versus privileges and immunities, which is testimony to the lack of dispassion that characterized this age of scholarship.

Picking through the encyclopedia in this very unsympathetic way brings one to an article in the first edition that either dulled the editors into a collective slumber when called upon to vet it, or, as in the case of the article Shām of the second edition, was submitted reluctantly but conscientiously and in haste after the original author reneged.[122] It is far more difficult to reject an article for which one has pleaded and delayed publication. Whatever the circumstances, the article on poetry (*shiʿr*) was written by A. S. Tritton, who was not in the least known for expertise in literature, and it is overtly antagonistic.[123] The reader is made to understand that pre-Islamic Arabic poetry is woefully substandard—in Tritton's words, "untranslatable and dull." He goes on to say:

> Forceful speech is [the poet's] aim and the result is—to Western minds—often grotesque or even repulsive. The comparison of women's fingers to the twigs of a tree, or to caterpillars, are examples. There is little connexion between the lines or parts of a poem.

His view of poetry after the coming of Islam is no less subjective. He notes that "Islam made a great change" for "the centre of interest moved outside Arabia and desert life had not the same appeal." In fact, "it is almost impossible for one who does not live the life of the desert to appreciate its poetry." Furthermore,

> In some of the later poets we can admire the verbal skill that fills a volume with extravagant and sometimes blasphemous adulation, with scarcely a repetition; but the utter emptiness and lack of ideas is revolting.

He concludes with a short discussion of Andalusian developments, of which he approves:

> In subject-matter [Spanish poets] broke away from tradition and their work is much more congenial to Europeans than that of the poets of Arabia. Perhaps

121. *EI2* (R. Le Tourneau), 1:57–58.
122. For Shām, see chapter two, text at n274.
123. Arthur Stanley Tritton, for whom, see chapter one, n243.

> the most interesting features are a conception of love that suggests the romances of chivalry and an almost modern sensibility to natural beauty.

His final say on Arabic poetry is:

> With no critical principles to guide and a tendency to imitate the old, modern Arabic poetry is not inviting; especially as it is written in what is essentially a dead language.[124]

A contemporary reader is left aghast at the unmitigated disparagement, dislike, and distortion of Arabic poetry that permeates the article. Persian poetry gets short shrift, while Turkish and Urdu poetry ("little more than imitations of the Persian") are given five lines. In all, the article is awash in reductionism, cultural intolerance, contemptuous commentary, and inadequate authoritativeness—in short, excessive orientalist prejudice. Its unsuitability did not go completely unnoticed when it appeared: as noted earlier, E. E. Calverley immediately wrote Wensinck to complain that it was "unsatisfactory."[125]

The assumption that this outrageous article is an anomaly or no longer possible is little helped by the appearance of similar musings some forty years later, again with regard to an article on poetry, this time the poetic genre of the Arabic *qaṣīda*, published in 1976. Although the update by Gérard Lecomte of the first edition article might be seen as a small improvement (e.g., the *qaṣīda* was upgraded from "artificial" to "conventional"), the casually dismissive stereotype remained in full force ("Consequently, the charm and originality of certain of the themes employed cannot prevent boredom and monotony from reigning over these never-ending poems").[126] One is left with the burning question of how articles like these slipped through. From the dismissive reaction of the editors, save Heinrichs, to the topic of orientalism in the encyclopedia at a symposium held at the Collège de France in 2003, it would seem that sensitivity to an orientalist narrative was less honed than it should have been, even in the twenty-first century. Whether because of the deep roots of history or because of an unwillingness to recognize a binary and biased approach, there was less acknowledgment of the issue, and where there is little acknowledgment, little detection might follow.

In spite of this, for every orientalist excess in the encyclopedia, one can just as easily find an article that defies overt orientalist categorization and presents contemporary

124. *EI*1, 4:374–75.

125. See chapter one, text at n243.

126. EI2, 4:713. For analysis of changing scholarship on the *qaṣīda*, which includes a discussion of this orientalist trope in the article Ḳaṣīda (original by F. Krenkow; updated in the second edition by G. Lecomte), see Michael Sells, "The *Qaṣīda* and the West: Self-Reflective Stereotype and Critical Encounter," *al-ʿArabiyya* 20 (1987), 308–9. I intentionally do not reference the more recent encyclopedia articles, for many of their authors are still among us; suffice it to say that the assumption that orientalist scholarship is a thing of the past is a mistaken one.

knowledge of the facts and sources of a particular subject succinctly and impressively, without noticeable dichotomies or ready-made opinions interfering. This is, of course, particularly true of the second edition, where one can even find the writings of a prolific first edition encyclopedia scholar such as Henri Lammens (1862–1937) criticized for their bias.[127] All scholarship is a product of the times in which it was produced, and one of the beauties of the encyclopedia is that one can watch the times behind the scholarship evolve. Indeed, the encyclopedia is a monument of orientalist research, in both of its senses: it is a brilliant and to-date unmatched comprehensive reference work authored by the best [Western]-trained Islamicists in the field (and edited by truly dedicated individuals); and it is a work that in its approach, rooted in a secular discourse of modernity, has judged Islam, Islamic history, Islamic literature, and so on through a Western lens, sometimes perpetuating the myths that accompany such a view. Many of the editors and contributors do fall under the rubric of orientalist scholar, in both senses. But just as the encyclopedia owes its reputation and prestige to them and other like-minded scholars, so will a new generation of editors and contributors weed out those aspects of the work and build on the scholarship for scholars to come—and that is how it should be.

127. "The verdicts which Caetani and Lammens have given on Ibn ʿAbbās are in contrast to the respect which Muslims of all periods have shown him. But Caetani's arguments can easily be disproved by fair and careful criticism (it is specially important not to confuse accounts from Muslim biblical history with the *ḥadīth*s concerning the Prophet), and grave doubts can be cast on the resemblance to the original of the portrait sketched by Lammens." *EI*2, art. "ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās" (L. Vecca Vaglieri), 1:41. The discrediting of earlier articles was not encouraged in later years.

Conclusion

Ever since the publication of its first fascicule in 1908, the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* has been an indispensable mine of knowledge, and an undisputed and barely challenged authority. Students and advanced scholars alike turn to it as their first resource. Its articles have provided the germ of many an idea, the origin of many a research project. For many years, it was sui generis and obtainable, or so it seemed, without any effort, ex nihilo. Yet, producing a monumental work such as the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*—over many decades of inadequate funding, through the efforts of multiple personalities, beset by national and international rivalries exacerbated by two world wars—was no small feat. From the very beginning, the exhiliration and expectations raised in 1892 from Robertson Smith's proposal to fill a large gap in the field were dampened when he succumbed to a fatal disease soon after. Without the timely reminder by Goldziher two years later, the project might have slid as nothing more than a footnote into the history books. Goldziher's intervention itself proved to be only nominal, and again the encyclopedia might have derailed but for De Goeje's taking the reins. Then, almost exclusively by dint of De Goeje's strong leadership behind the scenes, his acting as liaison with the publisher, and his mentorship of the eventually appointed editor of the first edition, Houtsma, did the encyclopedia plan bear fruit. Snouck Hurgronje, the worthy successor to De Goeje in 1909, secured the much-needed funds to carry the first edition to the finish. Its final years were less arduous, and his death in 1936 coincided with its completion.

The encyclopedia may have been favored by fortune, but it succeeded because it was the brainchild of eminent scholars who recognized and hoped to fill a gaping lacuna in their field of scholarship; because there were in total fourteen editors over the course of more than one hundred years who spent innumerable hours involved in the fundamentals; and because there was a continuous stream of colleagues willing to double down and contribute when asked. This grinding work would have been no less remarkable had it been properly remunerated, but it was not. It is taken for granted that scholars will do all manner of academic work in their nonworking hours as a labor of love.

It is an axiom that success breeds success, and the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* serves as proof. It has spawned many spin-offs, the more so once publishers awoke to the pecuniary advantages of churning out reference works. Some, such as *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, were endorsed by the encyclopedia as an institution, while others, such as *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, were personally supported by the editors. Both claim that the "inadequacies" of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* account for their existence (although it is worth noting that the

encyclopedia never intended complete coverage of the Turkish and Iranian civilizations).[1] At play would seem to be "the dialectics of progress" whereby the urge to improve what exists works to one's advantage over the original, which sets the pace but loses its head start by not adapting.[2]

There never was much question of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* adapting to changes in the discipline midway through the second edition, however, when so many scholarly perspectives were being revised. Tradition weighed heavily. Some innocuous stylistic alterations took place, in most cases without forethought or even awareness,[3] but the grist of the encyclopedia was philological and historical research, and this did not waver. The social sciences, their new methodologies and theoretical approaches, played little role. The contemporary world, with its politics, economics, and cultural institutions, was seen as so much news reporting. The heartland of Islam was the focus; it was the rare occasion when, save for North Africa, the periphery of the Muslim world was remembered and included. The Grey Books, which listed the entries decided upon in the early years, were added to, but nobody really wanted to extend the life of the second edition, which outlived its original estimate by a factor of three, any longer than needed. Like every other informational work, the encyclopedia became obsolescent the minute it appeared; the editors expected that changes to the core philosophy of the work would have to take place with the successor to the second edition.

A successful collaborative enterprise like the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, especially when it is ongoing for many decades, needs be marked by the understanding among those involved that the collective is more important than the individual. Irritations and disagreements might flare up, but the strength of the working relationship, impelled by a shared philosophy and sustained during its long years, will pay off in the end. When the shared philosophy is shattered into disparate parts, or when an individual interest gains the upper hand, the enterprise comes under considerable strain. The persistent search for funds, which also affected the second edition until the National Endowment for the Humanities stepped in, was an unabated and constant obstacle for the editors. Letters on

1. Viz., the history of the two encyclopedias at respectively http://english.isam.org.tr, under Publications, and the article on *EIr* (Elton L. Daniel), in *EIr*, 8,4:430–32.

2. The Marxist-leaning philosophical theory based on the Dutch expression "wet van de remmende voorsprong" is by the historian Jan Romein, "De dialektiek van de vooruitgang," *Forum* 4 (1935), 752–77, accessible at www.dbnl.org.

3. For instance, the early volumes of the second edition used the distinguishing spaced letters, a leftover from the first edition—e.g., the entry Hābīl wa Ḳābīl (note absence of hyphen following the *wa*-), "names of the two sons of Adam"; this disappeared once the Germanic influence was no longer in play, as did subtle differences between the French and English editions in, e.g., transliteration of the definite article (Engl. 'l vs Fr. –l). But although by the 1990s none of the editors much liked the clumsy ligatures for *dhāl*, etc., or the *ḳ* for the *q*, all knew that radical changes to the transliteration system were not advised.

the subject of the foraging for money are invariably filled with despair, whether dating from the early or the late decades of the twentieth century. Remuneration for authors, fees for translators, editorial expenses of travel—the costs themselves, but certainly the time and energy spent in finding ways to cover them are invisible in the physical project; it is therefore a source of extra disappointment that the latter years were stained by short-term preoccupation about profit on the part of the publisher.

Sifting through the documentation that reveals the history of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* brings a renewed admiration for all the collaborators, especially for its early pioneers and the hurdles they cleared. Any large scholarly project guarantees intense work, but the grumbles of those involved in the encyclopedia did not stem from the actual work involved so much as from the accruing demands, which brought stress and distress to the creative process. The fact that the editors and contributors knew no better and that there was no recourse does not alter the fact that the aggravation and time lost because of slow-moving post, of the need to make carbon or write out second, third, or more copies of manuscripts and letters for use and recall, of the handwritten manuscripts to decipher, copy, translate, and edit, and of Lilliputian handwritten corrections to disentangle, were a huge burden. As was the fact of the trilingual (later, bilingual) encyclopedia requiring an industry of translation, which might have been a necessary evil but was no less a vexation.[4] Associates hired to assist the editor in the early years tended to be temporary; if they lasted longer than the norm, this was a double-edged sword, for more often than not their continued employ was a sign that their personalities, and thus their durability, would be a thorn in the editor's side. As was discovered, the engaging of at least three associates in the first decade—Herzsohn, Seligsohn, and Bauer—meant headaches waiting to happen.

As for the second edition, the autonomous nature of the French and English editions—effectively a two-headed editorship—was sometimes its worst headache. Language aside, the French–English relationship was not always smooth. On balance, it seems safe to conlude that the second edition should never have appeared in French. That it did is due to Lévi-Provençal remaining on the editorial board and his insistence that the encyclopedia would otherwise be shunned by French contributors—his bluff should have been called. The French had to absorb the uneven allocation of articles, the far heavier burden of translation, and the indifference of French funding bodies when it came to

4. Rued by Snouck Hurgronje still many years after it was an accepted circumstance. As he wrote to Thomas Arnold in 1910 in connection with the latter taking on the English editing: "Originally only a single edition has been planned. As the grants from France and England were given on the condition of French and English editions being published at the same time as the German, this condition seems to have been accepted in the hope that the difficulties connected with the execution of a plan so differing from what has been considered firstly, would not be so great as experience proved them since to be." Letter Snouck Hurgronje to Arnold, February 1, 1910. Harvard University Archives, H. A. R. Gibb Papers, box 2, folder 11.

walk the walk. The French edition fought with misplaced pride a losing battle against the dominance of the English language in scholarship. It ended up being very hard on the process and on the people.

The toil on the encyclopedia—on all collaborative academic enterprises—is a product of a rarely acknowledged ingrained sense of collegial duty in the academic psyche. Far more time than assumed by those outside the profession is spent researching, consolidating, and presenting the most important information in the least amount of words, and far more time than assumed is spent editing them. Without the academic mill of unpaid scholarly effort in advancing the cause of scholarship, those to whom knowledge is important would suffer. As everyone is aware, the irony is that while the university pays the scholar to teach and contribute to the life of the university, while all the while satisfying the demands of research it places on her and on which it derives its reputation, it then is forced to buy back the results of that very work. In fact, without university library sales, the scholarly publisher would not be in business. At the same time, without the scholarly publisher, the scholar would be out of a job, and without the scholar, the university would have to close its gates. Until something in this chain breaks, the academic industry is largely one that feeds upon itself.

The scholarly publisher's business is self-limiting. The more scholarly the work, the more restrictive its sales, yet a popular work will not gain traction within the publisher's channels of distribution and its sales potential will suffer accordingly. E. J. Brill's immediate appreciation of the inchoate encyclopedia in the late nineteenth century is of great interest, and it is unfortunate that we are not privy to the conversations that must have taken place between De Goeje and De Stoppelaar at the onset. A primitive cost analysis seems to have been made in 1895, but given that many important particulars had yet to be worked out—such as the type of encyclopedia, the market it would appeal to, and its planned size—it must have been very provisionary. Even the old-fashioned E. J. Brill had to earn a return on its expenses in order to function. Despite its near cornering of the market in Oriental Studies at that time, one wonders how much store was put into making a profit off the encyclopedia versus the genteel nature of doing business and the mission E. J. Brill's publishers understood to be theirs. With good reason, the publisher had agreed only to cover production costs, which until 1989 were minimized by vertical integration, that is, the encyclopedia was typeset and printed by the publisher's own printing operations.[5] Though much later the income from the encyclopedia comprised such

5. A study of one publisher–printer in Leiden (De Erven Bohn) and the cost of publication in the period 1867–1900 revealed that eight to twelve percent of the total cost of a book was spent on typesetting, twenty to thirty percent on paper, four to eleven percent on printing, thirty to forty percent on authors' honoraria, and "the rest on illustrations, advertising, and the like." If at all analogous to E. J. Brill, the refusal to pay honoraria resulted in a good-sized saving. Van Lente, "Drukpersen, papiermachines en lezerspubliek," 259.

a large part of the publishing firm's total annual revenue that the editors in the 1990s were often told that the encyclopedia was "the cork on which the firm was floating," this could not have been assumed one hundred years earlier. Indeed, money was invested—in the person of Herzsohn, who was paid to produce the *Stichwörter*; in printing the *Spécimen*, meant to drum up contributors and editorial funds—for a project that was as yet an idea. Despite the earning potential, which must have been clear to the businessman De Stoppelaar, it is refreshing to think that the mindset in the late nineteenth century was less concerned with prospering on the basis of commercial calculations than producing a valuable resource for the market it sold to. E. J. Brill could not have known how valuable the encyclopedia would become, but by dint of its own resourcefulness and its trust in those who labored to make it happen, it helped carve a place for itself and for the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* that is now impossible to erase from history.

Appendix One
Entries in the *Spécimen d'une encyclopédie musulmane* (1899)

A

Aaron, v. Hārūn
Āb—R. (French)
Ab—R. (French)
Aba—R. (French)
Abād—[unsigned] (French)
Abad—R. (French)
Abān (ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Lāhiqī)—R. (French)
Abān (ibn Othmān ibn ʿAffān)—R. (French)
Abān (ibn Saʿīd ibn al-ʿAṣī)—R. (French)
Abaqa—W. Barthold (German)
Abarqobādh—de G[oeje] (German)
Abarqhūh—de G[oeje] (German)
Abaskūn—de G[oeje] (German)
ʿAbbād (ibn Bishr)—R. (French)
ʿAbbād (ibn Muḥammad ibn-Ḥayyān al-Balkhī)—R. (French)
ʿAbbād (ibn Tamīm)—[unsigned] (French)
ʿAbbād (ibn Ziyād)—R. (French)
ʿAbbadān—de G[oeje] (German)
ʿAbbādī (al)—R. (French)
ʿAbbadiden—Seybold (German)
ʿAmr ibn Saʿīd al-Ashdaq—I. Guidi (French)
Arabische Sprache. Dialekte—Socin (German)
Arabische Litteratur. Die Zeitungen und Zeitschriften in arabischer Sprache—Martin Hartmann (German)
Architecture. Les principaux types d'édifices religieux dans l'architecture musulmane de l'école syro-égyptienne—Max van Berchem (French)
Azimuth, v. Samt

B

Bādindjān Bādingān—R. (French)
Bushāq, (Aḥmed Abū Ishāq)—Paul Horn (German)
Bhopāl—Arnold (English)

D

al-Djāḥiẓ—van Vloten (French)
Djalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī—Nicholson (English)

F

Fiḳh—Goldziher (German)

I

Istiṣḥāb—Goldziher (German)

K

Karagöz—G. Jacob (German)
Khilāl—van Vloten (French)

M

Magribī (Banu-l)—K. Vollers (German)

Malaiische Literatur. Die Muhammedanischen Legenden—H. H. Juynboll (German)
Maysān—de Goeje (German)
Miswāk—van Vloten (French)

P

Pānch Pīr—Arnold (English)

S

Samt—van Vloten (French)
Shamsi Tabrīz—Nicholson (English)

T

Turquie. Législation—Cl. Huart (French)

Appendix Two
Translation of Max Seligsohn's Critique of the First Edition, 1909

[p. 3]

THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM

A Critical Examination of Some Printed Sheets to the Present, Giving the Reasons for the Slowness of the Publication and for the Defective Editing

BY
M. Seligsohn
FORMER EDITOR OF THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA

BRUGES
THE ST. CATHERINE PRESS LTD.
PORTE SAINTE CATHERINE
1909

The text and numbered footnotes are a translation from French of Seligsohn's text, warts and all. An example of his French style is (his text, p. 21): "Il se mit à me tourmenter par l'intermédiaire du rédacteur allemand qu'au lieu de stimuler à faire son travail, il incita à me faire des observations." As noted, where Seligsohn quotes from the encyclopaedia text, I have taken it directly from the first edition in English, which offers a glimpse into his own translating skills. I have added some explanation in lettered footnotes.

[p. 5]

THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM

On the covers of three German and English fascicules (I do not know why it was omitted from the French fascicules) of the Encyclopaedia of Islam, the only ones that have appeared to date (September 1909), one reads among other things the following: "The work will appear in fascicules of four sheets each and comprise three large volumes, each made up of 15 sheets, that is, 45 fascicules total. We anticipate that publication will take 10 to 12 years (this assertion appears only on the German fascicules)... The Encyclopaedia will appear simultaneously in three languages: German, French, and English." Hence, all who have to date subsidized this important work, as well as the subscribers, have expected a volume to be published, at the latest, within four years. Their expectation seemed all the more justified as an editor—on top of his task and only occupied with one edition—can easily prepare, and prepare well, 15 sheets per year. But what must be their disappointment to discover that since the printing of the German portion started three and a half years ago,[1] only 23 German sheets have been [p. 6] printed! And what editing! Also, the academies of the various countries that sponsored this work, are already tired of giving money—the subscribers will not be slow in protesting either—the till is empty and the dying publication will not be slow to breathe its last breath.[2] Now, whose fault is it? That is what we are going to look at in our search to establish accountability.

It is obvious that for an encyclopedia to succeed, whose management has been entrusted to one man, the head, or editor-in-chief, must know well how to manage works of this type and must take a special interest in the work whose destiny lies in his hands. Above all, he should know how to distinguish between an encyclopedia that—as is indicated on the covers of the three fascicules—must be scholarly and at the same time popular and accessible also to lay people and an article published in an orientalist journal that is only read by orientalists. As for the interest that the editor-in-chief should take in the encyclopedia, I do not need to say that no personal consideration should enter into it. The man is not infallible, so he should not take offense when, in the encyclopedia's interest, one points out errors he made or those he allowed his assistant to make. That said, one would expect the German editor,[3] who is [p. 7] his direct assistant, to be a man of a certain initiative. It is not enough to know German and a bit of Arabic to be editor of

1. Even though the German editor only arrived at the beginning of September 1906, that is, exactly three years ago, Mr. Herzsohn had the articles printed no less than six months ago.

2. I have this on the best authority. Moreover, one can see it by the economizing that the president of the committee was forced to put into effect: of the two editors, he kept only one (a method that is still more costly) and the honorarium of the contributors, which until now was 320 marks (= 400 francs) per sheet was reduced to 200 marks (= 250 francs).

3. The German edition is the basis for the others and one cannot print an English or French sheet without the corresponding German sheet having been printed. In addition, Mr. Houtsma always claims, although in reality it is the opposite, that he is editor-in-chief solely of the German edition.

the Encyclopaedia of Islam. This requires someone who has done some serious study and at the same time knows other Semitic and Oriental languages. Since the Encyclopaedia of Islam is published in three languages, it is naturally also necessary that he know sufficient English and French—one, because many of the articles are written in these two languages; two, names are written differently in the three languages, and if the German editor does not know the two other languages, he will include an article conforming to German orthography without consideration for the other two editions in which this same article will appear according to, of course, a different orthography; and three, because only two editors were hired for these three editions, he must help his colleague. To all this one must add the strong desire to work.

Unfortunately, instead of the above, one finds the complete opposite on the editorial board of the Encyclopaedia of Islam. To give an idea of the value of the German editor, I only have to refer to the "Letter from Holland" (1907) from Mr. Houtsma, in which he said at the end: "We are assured of the collaboration of Mr. M. Seligsohn who has worked a long time on the Jewish encyclopedia and of a young German scholar, Mr. A. Schaade, who has just finished a scholarly thesis on Arabic philology." But, as for the scholarship of the thesis, general readers will not share Mr. Houtsma's opinion, I am sure, since one has no illusion, neither in France nor elsewhere, of the value of the [p. 8] German doctoral theses of these so-called, usually so young, orientalists. But one thing is certain—that is that Mr. Houtsma's recruit for the encyclopedia belongs precisely to the category of these young "scholars" who abound in Germany, who, just out of secondary school, take a course of Arabic for a few semesters, present a concoction of a few pages as thesis in order to be able to sport the pompous title of "Herr Doktor" and dare to take on everything.

Thus, it is this German "young scholar" who is the editor of the German edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam under the direct supervision of Mr. Houtsma. Note with what care these few German sheets were printed. Of course, it is not the place here to critique the encyclopedia, so I will limit myself to pointing out only here and there some facts that will instruct the reader. I will touch briefly on small details that the editor should have paid attention to and that were neglected in our case—for example, a name is written sometimes one way, sometimes another (Ohod and Uhud, Ibn Kotaiba and Ibn Kutaiba); sometimes the title of a certain work is followed by the editor's name, sometimes not; at times the volume of a work is not indicated, etc., etc.—as well as on the big mistakes of translation in the articles written in French or in English, and especially in the articles written in English, a language that both the editor and the editor-in-chief barely understand; and on articles that do not appear in their proper place (Abescher, Alactaga and Alembik[4]), the editor not suspecting that [p. 9] the names have a different orthography

4. I should note that the latter two names are also not German; the author is not obliged to know the transcription system adopted by the encyclopedia, nor take into account that it is published in three languages; it is the editor, since there is an editor, to attend to this.

in French and in English. I will also not dwell on errors found in some articles, because it would be necessary first to blame the author and then the editor-in-chief.[5] I am only going to indicate some monstrosities for which the editor is mostly to blame. He did not correct the style of articles written by people who do not master German, including those by the editor-in-chief himself, whose articles distinguish themselves by their bad German first and their lack of logic next.[6] This lack of care is the reason for errors and sometimes nonsense in the articles. I cite a few examples: Mr. Houtsma has a favorite expression, "vom Alters her" or "von alte Zeiten her" = "from antiquity," which he uses indiscriminately (e.g., in the article Abd Allâh b. Maimûn, Ger. ed., p. 27a, where he uses this expression for "from the beginning of Islam"); in the article Abû Dharr (Ger. ed., p. 88a), the same author says: "Mit Abd Allah b. Mas'ûd galt es als einer der besten Kenner des Islam" = "He was considered, with Abd Allâh b. Mas'ûd, as one of the greatest experts on Islam," wanting to say probably: He was considered after Abd Allâh [p. 10] the greatest expert of Islam. In the article Alî b. Mahdî (Ger. ed., p. 303a) the same author calls this latter person *Stammvater* (ancestor) of the Zebîd Mahdis—he also calls Adnân the *Stammvater* of the Ismaili Arabs—and the Mahdis his *Nachkommen* (descendants). Thus, one expects that the Mahdis, his *Nachkommen*, had reigned for centuries at Zebîd, but no, they had reigned for only fourteen years! It is clear therefore that Mr. Houtsma does not know the words he uses and the German editor did not take the trouble to correct them. But the editor overlooked much more serious errors: in Mr. Houtsma's article Abû Arîsh (Ger. ed., p. 82b), the author says: "Abû Arîsh, chief town of a district of the same name, in the sandjak of Hodaida, etc. The port of the country, Djizân (the ancient Djaishân), has been of no importance for a long time past in comparison with Hodaida." But no explanation is given as to why Djizân is mentioned here. It is as if someone had written: "Saint-Denis, chief town of the arrondissement in the department of the Seine, etc.... The seaside town of Boulogne is less important compared to Cherbourg." In the article Ahl al-Kisâ (Ger. ed., p. 195a), one reads: "For the origin of this appellation see the traditions quoted above under the article Ahl al-Bait." But one will look there in vain for traditions quoted in general and those that refer to the appellation Ahl al-Kisâ in particular.[7] Of course, no

5. One can say, however, that sometimes some things escape the author that should not escape the wisdom of the editor if he had read the articles carefully. I will cite one example: in the article Abencerages (Ger. ed., p. 73b), the author said in support of his theory that the name is not derived from Ibn Sarrâdj but from Ibn Sirâdj, that in Spanish the name is pronounced Abencer(r)aje. We see that the basics of this argument are wrong, but it is the editor who should have thought about this detail.

6. Here I must warn the reader that where Mr. Houtsma himself doubts (thankfully) his knowledge of the subject, he prefers not to sign his articles, probably thinking that the readers will attribute them to one of the editors.

7. I did draw Mr. Houtsma's attention to that (because the article is by him) before translating it into French, but although his double duty as author and editor-in-chief should have been to rush to rectify the error, he preferred, however, to not respond and to go on.

encyclopedia is completely free of errors; but nowhere does one see such nonsense and gibberish comparable to what I am going to show and which make the encyclopedia a collection of baloney. [p. 11] Judge for yourself, with regard to the article Adwiya (Ger. ed., p. 152), especially the passage beginning with 1. *Mulattif* (col. 1) and ending with paragraph 3. Theriak (col. 2) and tell me whether it is possible to unravel something out of this chaos: phrases that are missing, in contrast to words that turn up twice; Arabic words are transcribed wrong; constructions that do not make any sense; etc., etc. The same if you want to browse the article Akla (Ger. ed., p. 255) and tell me whether you can understand anything there. Or the article al-Ahsâ (Ger. ed., p. 220a), a masterpiece of writing by Mr. Houtsma, the beginning of which I will reproduce as a curiosity. "al-Ahsâ, auch Lahsâ oder al-Hasâ genant, war ursprünglich eine Festung in al-Bahrain [s.d.], 314 (926) in der Nähe der alten Hauptstadt dieser Provinz al-Hadjar, vond dem Karmaten-häuptling Abû Tâhir al-Djanabî gegründet. Er taufte die neue Stiftung al-Muminîya, doch Stadt und Distrikt blieben unter dem alten Namen al-Ahsâ bekannt." In other words: al-Ahsâ, also called Lahsâ or al-Hasâ, was originally a fortress established in 314 (926) by the Qarmatian leader Abû Tâhir al-Djannâbi in the vicinity of al-Hadjar, the ancient capital of al-Bahrain [q.v.]. He (the founder) christened this new establishment al-Muminîya, but the city and the district remained known under the ancient name of al-Ahsâ"! [a] Have you ever seen similar gibberish in a work of even less importance? A man establishes in 314 (926), a fort he calls al-Muminîya, but the city (that is to say, the city that formed later around this fort and that became the capital of the district) and the district remained known under the old name of al-Ahsâ (the name that the fort had before it was built?). An excellent model for writing articles in an encyclopedia! Only after I had [p. 12] consulted the sources was I able to understand the meaning. The city of al-Ahsâ existed long before 314 and was the chief town of a district. Abû Tâhir encirled it in said year with fortresses (thus originally it was not fortified), and although he named it al-Muminîya, it kept its old name of al-Ahsâ.

Thus, in general, one can say that these few German sheets did not have an editor, and that might be better for the encyclopedia. Because when the German editor gives a sign of existence, it is only to botch up good articles. I am going to cite two examples. Not having an elementary knowledge of the Bible, and not even knowing that concordances exist in all European languages in order to find biblical names in the respective translations of the Bible, the German editor wanted to apply the same transcription, dots and

[a] The original English in *EI*1 (207–8) reads: "AL-AḤSĀʾ, also called LAḤSĀ or AL-ḤASĀ, was originally a fortress in al-Baḥrain [q.v.], not far from al-Hadjar, the ancient capital of this district. The Ḳarmaṭ chieftain Abū Ṭāhir al-Djannābī founded it in 314 (926). He called the place al-Muʾminīya, but both town and district remained known by the old name of al-Aḥsāʾ.

lines,[8] that one uses for the transcription of names from Arabic and the other oriental languages. But for this one needs to know a bit of Hebrew, and the result is that biblical names, whether proper names or geographical names, are so mutilated that one cannot find them either by means of a Hebrew concordance or by means of a German concordance (see, for example, the article Aila, Ger. ed., p. 222b). But this is nothing compared to the muddle he made in the article Abysinnia by Prof. Ign. Guidi of Rome. Not acquainted with the subject at all and knowing very little of the language in which the article had been written (French), the editor arranged this excellent article in German in such a way that the devil himself would not understand a thing. Having disregarded an illogical be- [p. 13] ginning,[9] he replaced one of the author's phrases with a passage that he so-called translated from Makrîzî, *Kitâb al-ilmâm*. However, he only translated, or badly translated, the first half of the passage in question while adding a comment of his own that refers actually to the half of the passage that he did not translate, and all of it is in flagrant contradiction to what follows (Ger. ed., p. 127a, passage that begins with "Makrîzî spricht" etc.).[b] I do not have to say that Prof. Guidi deleted this nonsense in the French edition. I should add that every time I asked the German editor for the explanation of this passage like those of all the others of this genre, he tried to convince me that it was very logical. As for the editor-in-chief, he himself does not look over the German proofs, despite his receiving them three times before printing. Instead, when he sees that most of these gross errors (unfortunately, not all) have been corrected in the French or English editions, he writes me: "But it's not like in the German." On the proof of the twelfth French sheet, where I had corrected the transcriptions of some Ethiopian names, Mr. Houtsma wrote this: "I am led to understand that the author intentionally created the orthography (*sic*)." I would like to know if the author also "intentionally created the orthography" in the article Abyssinia where in the German translation one finds the Ethiopian names transcribed in different ways, possible and impossible.

Now, since the number of printed German sheets are so few and these few sheets are so unpolished, one can conclude that the German editor is not fatigued by the work on the encyclopedia. At the same time, I have been able to ascertain that [p. 14] Mr. Houtsma did not hire this "young scholar" for the encyclopedia because he could not find more qualified orientalists in Germany to assume the responsibility of editor. He simply wanted to provide a young German who had been recommended to him and who had just finished his schooling with the means to continue his studies and to improve,

8. He is not, however, so meticulous when it comes to transcription of names stemming from other oriental languages.

9. "Abyssinien, besser Abessinien (arab. *Habash*). Name einer Landschaft in N.O. Afrika den man als appellativum in der Bedeutung "Mischung von mehreren Rassen" (Wurzel: *h b sh*) hat erklären wollen. Thus this is the definition of Abyssinien or Abessinien!

[b] P. 119b in the English edition: "Maḳrīzī speaks of a region [...]."

with money from the encyclopedia! In fact, this "editor" has taken and still takes Arabic courses in Leiden, and his dissertation, which seems not to have been but an embryo at the time of its defense, made him take off at least a year and a half from the time of the encyclopedia.[10] The late Professor de Goeje rented for us a room, a kind of office, where we were to work together, in order to work on the three editions at the same time. But I very rarely saw my so-called colleague, busy as he was with his lessons and the preparation of his thesis. So it was only me who made up the office, and I did not protest because as far as the French and English editions were concerned, he could not help me with anything. However his absence did hinder my work a bit because every time I needed him to explain something from the German edition, he was never there. In addition, the typesetter for the German edition came constantly to ask me for work, the other not providing him. Having asked him once how it was that the typesetter had no German manuscript, [p. 15] he answered me frankly that he was too taken up with his thesis. This exchange took place around January 1908, then, during the months of February and March he didn't come to the office at all for at least six weeks. This break did not stop him, of course, from going on holiday in July, and although official vacations for the editors were only two weeks (at least that is what Mr. Houtsma kept telling me), he did not return until September 1, after an absence of about six weeks. It is true that nothing would have changed had he returned earlier, but it shows that he did not need to keep up appearances. After he returned, he prolonged his holidays as usual and the fifteenth German sheet which they had begun to print in July and which, if I am not mistaken, was already in page-proof at the end of the same month, was not printed until the end of October or beginning of November.[11] Therefore the fifteenth German sheet, among others, cost more than 1200 francs, merely ... the editor's honorarium! This disgusted me and Professor de Goeje being seriously ill, I was naïve enough to write Mr. Houtsma to ask him whether he knew about or consented to his subordinate neglecting his encyclopedia work while I was drowning in work. Naturally Mr. Houtsma became angry and answered that "these things are not part of editing" and consequently did not concern him personally, but rather the president of the [executive] committee.[12] One can see [p. 16] by the

10. One can see in his *Vita* (every German dissertation has a *Vita*, in which the future grand scholar lists his family name and first name, those of his parents, his religion, his date and place of birth, his age when he began learning his ABCs, the different schools he went to until the day of graduation [*jusqu'au jour mémorial*] and the names of all his teachers, as if any of this could interest anyone), in which he says: In September 1906 I joined the Encyclopaedia of Islam, [a] position I still hold."

11. The publishing house of Brill saves the printing dates of each sheet and one can easily verify that there is nothing exaggerated in my assertions.

12. This would be fair if Mr. Houtsma also observed this principle as regards to me, because some time after this letter I received all of a sudden a postcard which had made the rounds at Brill and at the hotel where I was living, and whose contents in extenso are: "Utrecht 29 October 1908. Sir. I ask for a word of explanation. Why have I not received the proofs for several (?) weeks? Editor-in-chief Mr. Th.

above that he also did not attend to editorial matters (of the German edition, of course) that did concern him, however.

But if Mr. Houtsma did not concern himself with either the encyclopedia or with the German editor, he did concern himself overly with me, perhaps this latter occupation made him neglect the former. Despite what he wrote in his "Letter from Holland" about me, he was always opposed to my being hired. He was opposed to anyone but the young German being hired, even proposing that he also take on the French and English editions,[13] although he knew full well that he had neither French nor English. He did not want there to be a third person to observe his dealings, he also did not want it so that his protegé would be better provided for. However, lest he be obliged to do a little work, the German editor refused to take on the French and English editions, even ostensibly, and Mr. Houtsma was forced to cede to Prof. de Goeje and to write me that the committee accepted my services as "collaborator on the encyclopedia of Islam."

I arrived in Leiden. So Mr. Houtsma looked for every possible way, the one more odious than the other, to [p. 17] get rid of me. He began by writing me a rude letter, one month after my arrival, which had its effect. Because I went to the late Prof. de Goeje's house to notify him of my departure. But De Goeje persuaded me to stay and to not pay any attention to Mr. Houtsma's letters, "because, he said, he is writing you in a language he doesn't know well and he doesn't grasp the meaning of the words he uses towards you; he is like a child who doesn't know how to express himself well."[14] I stayed. So Mr. Houtsma proceeded to damage my relationship with the contributors; I cite two examples of his machinations:

1. He had me shorten some French articles, the article Abd al-Kâdir by Mr. Yver, among others, which he asked me to cut by two-thirds.[15] I sent him the abridgments for him to look at; he approved them, and this is what he wrote me about this in his letter of

Houtsma." This needs no comment. I confess that I told him on the spot that according to his own letter it was not to him I owed an explanation about this matter and he would be better off asking his protégé for proofs who had not given him anything for four months. I add in passing that the proof of the thirteenth French sheet has for a few days already been with one of his students whom he has substituting for him and to whom he asked me henceforth to send the proofs.

13. The "German editor" himself told me this; this is another proof of Mr. Houtsma's duplicity, one of whose objections to me was that I was neither French nor English by birth.

14. I repeated these remarks to some people who will attest that I did not invent them after the event.

15. I should say that Mr. Houtsma did not himself take the initiative, but that he did so only on my suggestion. He sent me most of these articles to prepare for typesetting, one article by Mr. Huart had already been typeset before my arrival. So I sent him back a whole packet, commenting that they were too long. Mr. Houtsma at first showed scorn at what I sent back, since he had looked at the articles and had approved them as is. In two weeks, however, he changed his mind and cut some three-quarters of the article Abd al-Hamîd II by Mr. Huart and he had me shorten the other articles, among which were two by Mr. Doutté and the article Abd al-Kâdir by Mr. Yver. In any case, this does not argue well for an editor-in-chief who approves an article and then, when one shows him it is not good, rejects it.

September 11, 1906: "I think your abridgment of the article by Mr. Yver is very well done. I deleted a few more lines because the article, even in your abridged version, is still too long" (why did he not see this before?); [p. 18] he asks me, if that is possible, "to make some cuts in it." He also asks me to add a phrase to the abridgment of Mr. Doutté so that the abridgment is more complete and does not remark at all on the abridgment of the other article by the same author. So I did nothing on my own as far as the article's content or the editor-in-chief was concerned. Mr. Doutté protested and refused to send back the proofs of his articles, but Mr. R. Basset protested for Mr. Yver, sending me a disagreeable, even offensive, letter. But it is not to me that Mr. Basset should address his protests, but to the editor-in-chief; one has to conclude therefore by the tone of his letter that Mr. Houtsma made me responsible for the changes in the articles and that he presented me as a young, ignorant man who had just finished school. I then send Mr. Basset's letter to Mr. Houtsma, giving him to understand that he must exonerate[c] me to the former. But Mr. Houtsma, who always prefers to have another take the chestnuts out of the fire, even more so on this occasion when he feels directly implicated, sends me back the letter and advises me to write Mr. Basset myself that I had to submit to the editorial guidelines, while recommending that I get De Goeje's approval for the letter.[16]

2. Mr. Houtsma once writes me that Mr. Doutté had been asked to write the article Abd al-Rahmân b. Hishâm, sultan of Morocco, and now he is refusing to write it. He asks me [p. 19] therefore to write the article using A. Cour, "L'établissement des chérifs au Maroc,"[d] the only source that existed at the Leiden Library. I write this article, Mr. Houtsma okays it, and I have it typeset. I was very surprised to receive another letter from Mr. Basset who reproached me for having dared write this article as Mr. Yver, "professor of history at the Ecole Supérieure de Lettres in Algiers" was more qualified to write it. It would be doing Mr. Basset wrong to believe that he wrote this letter without Mr. Houtsma having presented the matter to him incorrectly.[17] Besides, how would Mr. Basset be able to know that it was me who wrote the article in question? I demanded an explanation from Mr. Houtsma, but he maintained complete silence.

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[c] Seligsohn uses "m'exculper" for "me disculper."

16. However, some time before, Mr. Houtsma wrote to me about the late professor: "I tell you, if you bring a third person (De Goeje) into the editing, one of us will get angry and it will probably be me (Houtsma) who gets angry." Thus, he wanted to bring De Goeje into it when it concerned smoothing away the difficulties that he himself created. Besides, if I consulted De Goeje at the beginning, it was because, as one will see shortly, I was forced to do so.

[d] Auguste Cour, *L'établissement des dynasties des chérifs au Maroc et leur rivalité avec les Turcs de la régence d'Alger, 1509–1830* (Paris, 1904).

17. One can be surprised perhaps that Mr. Basset lent himself so easily to Mr. Houtsma's suggestions, but the wise professor from Algiers was prejudiced against me since the first article affair. Later he even complained about me to Barbier de Meynard, to De Goeje, to everyone, to the great joy of Mr. Houtsma, while I had only done my job.

If I understand anything about these things, it is that Mr. Houtsma's hostility to me was as prejudicial to the French and English editions as his extreme kindness to the German editor was and is to the encyclopedia in general. Leaving aside that the two editions would be suspended upon my departure, which, moreover, he did not try to hide in his letters, he contributed much to the imperfections of these very editions, while transferring the responsibility to me. To prove that I am not exaggerating about anything, I cite a passage from his letter of September 29, 1906: "As for the question of citations to translate, I must note first that when Mr. de Goeje committed himself to publishing alongside the German edition a French edition and an English [p. 20] edition, I stated that these two latter editions (so many editions!) would not fall to me but that they would be given over to separate editors. Thus, if the truth must be told, I have nothing to do with the editing details of these two editions.[18] You are the only responsible editor and it is up to you to decide whether you want to follow the German edition in all details yes or no."[19]

However, I sent him a proof of the first French sheet, and he corrected it, with respect to style, in such a way that Mr. S. Reinach, which I learned much later, did me the honor of addressing me in front of the entire meeting of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.[e] But fearing probably that I would not accept his corrections and that I would restore my text, Mr. Houtsma wrote a recommendation on the proof, in Dutch, to the printer to not print any sheet that did not carry his fiat.[20] Nevertheless, I am the one who should give the printing order.[21] This way of acting continued until the seventh French sheet, on which Mr. Houtsma added to the preposterous French mistakes [p. 21] by his changes comprising serious translating errors. I protested and did not want to give the printing order anymore. These disagreements ended by disgusting me and I decided

18. It is noticeable that Mr. Houtsma never distinguishes between edition and editing.

19. This letter, like several others, forced me to consult De Goeje.

[e] Salomon Reinach (1858–1932), a French archeologist and philologist. According to the *Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York, 1906, 10:367), he was elected to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in 1896 and became its president in 1906. I could not find anything about the incident Seligsohn is referring to.

20. What childishness (!) because he addressed the proof to me and I could have crossed out these few lines and asked the printer for another proof and kept this one. In fact, when I told De Goeje of this absurdity on the part of the editor-in-chief, he said to me: "Well, since you admit that it is childishness, laugh about it!"

21. This shows enough that Mr. Houtsma wanted to act as sovereign master while at the same time relieve himself of all responsibility. I could cite enough other examples to fill a volume, but I will suffice with the following example which is very curious. It seems that after a few months people began to grumble about the slowness of the encyclopedia. I don't know exactly, but the fact remains that in the month of April 1907 the so-called German editor showed me a letter from Mr. Houtsma who asked us to sign a declaration that the encyclopedia's slowness was not attributable to him, but to the publishing house of Brill which did not have enough type, otherwise he would withdraw from editing (the eternal song!). I do not have to add that I did not sign anything.

to quit the encyclopedia, telling Mr. Houtsma that I would leave around November 1908.[22] But as I had to attend to the French edition while waiting and as it was sickening to see how Mr. Houtsma messed up this very edition, I insisted that henceforth a proof would be given to a French person, by birth, to read, who would then correct Mr. Houtsma's corrections. Seeing that I was close to leaving, he wanted to give a final blow to his major work. He began to torment me by way of the German editor, whom, instead of encouraging to do his work, he urged to provide me with comments. The young German, who is much indebted to his boss, carried out these "delicate" missions with the impudence that with him takes the place of knowledge.[23]

This is how the Encyclopaedia of Islam has been made up to now. The result is that there are presently twenty-three printed German sheets, of which seven or eight are translated from French and English. We have seen how the original was treated and what the value of the [p. 22] translation is, and these twenty-three sheets cost 13,100 francs, [being] nothing but the salary of the so-called editor, that is to say, roughly 600 francs a sheet, while the honorarium of the contributor was until recently only 400 francs a sheet, now reduced to 250 francs. I first thought that the bulk of the money came from Germany and I told myself: "It's probably under these conditions that Germany provided the funds." But Prof. Snouck Hurgronje assured me that Germany did not give more than the other countries and that it was Holland that provided the most. I think therefore that a young Dutchman would have more right to this subvention and could just as easily ruin the encyclopedia. The task that the wise professor of Leiden imposed on himself, namely, to apply here and there in order to be able to prolong for a bit the existence of the unfortunate Encyclopaedia of Islam, is not something to envy, because it has no other goal than to allow the young German to wait until the title of "Editor of the Encyclopaedia of Islam" gets him a chair in Germany. I have no doubt that, on the basis of his authority, Mr. Snouck Hurgronje will find more money for a year, especially after the savings he has introduced. Thus, another six German sheets will be printed, which will cost 1,500 francs to pay the contributors and close to 4,000[24] francs to pay the editor, without mentioning the 2,000 francs for the editor-in-chief. And then? And what will become of the French and English editions? It is true that since last March, M. Houtsma had two English sheets printed (in the space of six months!) but the English will have great difficulty in recognizing in them the sheets [p. 23] of an encyclopedia. Of course, in accepting the responsibility of [being] president of the committee, Mr. Snouck Hurgronje could not know the

22. I would have left in the month of November but I stayed on for several months per the wish of the director of the publishing house of Brill, who I should say is the first to suffer from this disorder.

23. He even came to my house once to tell me that I was not going fast enough, even though I was drowning in work and he had not done anything for several months!

24. 1,800 guilders, the editor's salary = 3,744 fr. + 15 fl. per sheets (6 sheets = 90 fl. = 188 fr.) which the editor gets for supervising the printing.

shady side of the encyclopedia. Now he will know it, but will he act in such a way that the few German sheets that will appear will be better cared for? I hope so for the encyclopedia. In any case, the readers will be informed and [will be] judges!

The Hague September 1909

Appendix Three
Supplementary Publications

The *Encyclopaedia of Islam* was not immune to the spin-offs and clones that soon arrive in the wake of successful projects. The index to the first edition—arguably a very useful addendum—was an afterthought and never published separately, but the *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*—in English and German—was spun off from the larger work and enjoyed its own success. In the mid-1990s, Van Donzel conceived and prepared on his own a very condensed version of the second edition, his one-volume *Islamic Desk Reference* (1994). There were, however, two by-products that were envisioned to accompany the second edition by the earliest editors themselves.

From an undated but early draft of a foreword to the second edition, "a general index and an atlas of the Islamic world" were promised to supplement the encyclopedia.[1] Despite this seeming guarantee of existence, no further mention of either is found in the encyclopedia archive between the undated foreword and May 1959, when Schacht received an atlas proposal from Donald E. Pitcher, who wrote at the suggestion of Bernard Lewis.[2] Understandably perhaps, given the essence of an index, mention of it is absent entirely, and other than it being pointed out at an executive meeting in 1964 that, generally, "a very full index" upon completion of the encyclopedia would solve the problem of achieving consistency in orthography of place-names, particularly for West Africa and

1. "Un index général et un atlas du monde de l'Islam seront publiés comme annexes à cette nouvelle édition." "Projet d'avant-propos," signed with the initials of Lévi-Provençal (É. L-P) and Gibb (H.A.R.G.). Since Kramers' name is missing, the foreword would have been drafted after his death at the end of 1951; the English version ("It is intended to publish a general index and an atlas of the Islamic world on the completion of this new edition") is quoted in a review of the first published fascicule (*Middle Eastern Affairs* 5 [1954], 29). The foreword may have only appeared in the first fascicule of the second edition and been omitted in the prelims of the bound volume one.

2. Pitcher to Schacht, May 16, 1959. Donald E. Pitcher (d. 1963) was a graduate of the University of London and former student of Lewis. His M.A. thesis was published posthumously as *An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire from the Earliest Times to the End of the Sixteenth Century* (Brill, 1972). A "teacher by profession as well as a talented musical composer," Pitcher was teaching music at Leighton Park School, Reading, UK, when he wrote Schacht (quote from W. C. Brice's preface to the *Atlas*).

other regions where no official orthography existed,[3] the topic is not mentioned until December 1971.

The atlas began to take shape with Pitcher's concrete proposal. The outline he enclosed recommended a volume of sixty-two pages, with eighty maps, large and small, which would be grouped into chronological sections. It would be the first cartographical survey of the whole field of Muslim history, Pitcher claimed, comparing the proposed work to recently published atlases, such as Harry W. Hazard's *Atlas of Islamic History* (Princeton, 1951) and Roelof Roolvink's *Historical Atlas of the Muslim Peoples* (Amsterdam, 1957), which "give no large-scale maps of any of the important Islamic areas," and to historical studies such as Le Strange's *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, repr. 1930) and Claude Cahen's *La Syrie du Nord* (Paris, 1940)—whose otherwise excellent maps were limited to specific regions.[4] Pitcher foresaw a sumptuous atlas—not only would the plates "be in full colour" but also double-paged, "of about 10 x 15 inches, which would allow each important country to be shown at least once on a scale of 1:8 million, while some, such as Syria & the Nile Delta, would be on as large a scale as 1:2 million."[5]

Lewis had secured a grant of £2,500 from the Rockefeller Foundation to cover the costs of drawing the maps, for which he intended to use the cartographer of Clarendon Press; it was estimated that Pitcher would have expenses of £500, leaving the rest for the cartographer. Once it was explained to Clarendon Press that the atlas would be published in conjunction with the encyclopedia and not by them, however, the Press was less amenable to lending its cartographer's services.[6] An alternative was proposed in which Clarendon Press was allowed to print the work, which Brill would outsource anyway, not having the offset printing resources at its disposal.[7] This proposal, which

3. Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee, held in London, August 31 and September 1, 1964. The point was made by Henrik Nyberg, whose suggestion of including an article on Toponomy in the encyclopedia proper for the formation of place-names in the Muslim world was agreed upon. The suggestion seems to have been forgotten, however, as no article or cross-reference appeared, perhaps because the Grey Book N–Z, to which it could have been added by hand, had just been printed (as is noted in the editorial committee's report for the same meeting) but not yet distributed.

4. "A Scheme for a New Atlas to Illustrate the History of Islam & the Muslim Peoples," accompanying Pitcher's letter to Schacht, May 16, 1959.

5. Pitcher to Schacht, May 16, 1959.

6. Lewis to Schacht, June 25 and July 13, 1959. Clarendon's response was: "Under the circumstances, there would be no point in working with our cartographer both since we shall probably require his time in another connexion anyhow, and because Mr. Pitcher will need to work on methods and techniques that are closely allied to the Dutch production organization and not to ours." Coincidentally, or not, Oxford University Press, of which Clarendon Press was its London office until the 1970s, went on to publish an Islamic atlas of its own at the same time: Francis Robinson, *Atlas of the Islamic World since 1500* (1982).

7. Wieder to Schacht, July 31, 1959.

on its face does not seem to change the equation much at all for Clarendon Press, was rejected as well.

More than a year later, on August 29, 1960, there had been little development. The still embryonic atlas was an agenda point for lengthy discussion at the executive committee meeting:

> A discussion on the role of the Atlas followed. Dr. Miles asked what date of publication was contemplated; Prof. Schacht replied that this was not yet decided, but the first fascicule could be expected in 2–3 years. Serial publication was envisaged, and the cartographer was waiting for specimen sketches from Mr. Pitcher. Prof. Gibb was of the opinion that early printing was not desirable, for the original intention had been that the Atlas should follow the Encyclopaedia, the whole concept of supplementation of the Encyclopaedia articles by accurate maps being paramount—hence the first fascicule should correspond with the early letters of the Encyclopaedia; Prof. Lewis replied that it was the Editorial Committee's intention that the Atlas should be closely related to the Encyclopaedia, but it was felt that it should have a cohesion of its own and be usable separately. It was difficult to see how a historical atlas could be alphabetically arranged. To assist in its compilation the pamphlet was being sent to all authors and prospective authors of historical and geographical authors [*sic*], with whom Mr. Pitcher would communicate directly. Professor Abel and Dr. Miles stressed the need for the extension of trade-routes beyond the limits for Islamic countries; Prof. Schacht replied that this had already been considered, as a necessary and natural extension. Prof. Gibb hoped that sociological data—e.g. the distribution of Bedouin tribes—would be included; Prof. Paret considered that it would be a difficult matter to fix this for mapping purposes; Prof. Gibb thought that specialists could prepare preliminary sketches. Dr. Miles suggested that the Atlas afforded an excellent opportunity for the numismatist to contribute specialist material by, for example, an indication of mint-towns and the locations of coin-finds and hoards; Prof. Schacht welcomed this proposal, and indicated that this, and a proposal to include Arab trade-routes to the Baltic, would be communicated to Mr. Pitcher. In reply to numerous short questions, the Committee were informed that modern as well as ancient place-names would be included; that West Africa would in fact be well represented, although it did not have a conspicuous place in the leaflet; that maps giving orographical and physical data would be included; that a multilingual glossary would be appended. Prof. Lewis outlined the working [method] proposed: Mr. Pitcher would prepare the drafts in consultation with the London office in the first place; he would be in touch with relevant authors by post, and directly in touch with colleagues at the School of Oriental and African Studies. On the technical side Mr. Pitcher was in touch with Mr. Wieder. Prof. Lewis would be responsible for presenting Mr. Pitcher's drafts to the Editorial Committee. Mr. Pitcher was in receipt of a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, administered by the S.O.A.S., entirely separate from the Encyclopaedia's finances; this grant

> would not cover the costs of publication. Mr. Wieder pointed out that the edition would be too small to cover publication costs, and that this difficulty was still to be solved.[8]

By 1961, Clarendon Press had exited the discussion and quotes were received by two other British atlas publishers, George Philip & Sons and Alabaster Passmore & Sons.[9] Yet, the required subsidy was still a large obstacle, "owing to the heaving printing costs." Wieder first estimated it to be ƒ100,000 (£10,000), allowing for a sales price "not higher than about ƒ75,"[10] but after receipt of a specimen map that Pitcher had drawn and discussions with the "English printer," Wieder could refine the calculation of costs more definitively. He wrote Schacht in March 1962 that, based on a retail price of ƒ80 ("the ultimate price which one can ask for such a publication"), 5,000 copies could be made with a subvention of ƒ90,000, or $26,000).[11]

Perhaps because the atlas could not be produced at Brill and the numbers were unproven, Schacht asked a certain J. R. Bracken to read through the correspondence and report back. His general conclusion was that if the subvention was nonreturnable, yet taken into account in calculating the publication costs, and if no royalties were to be paid—both of which seemed to be the case—"Brill will be making an unduly large profit on each copy sold [...]. If I were to make a general observation on the price proposed by Mr. Wieder of £9 per copy, I should be inclined to say that it seems very high in relation to an edition of 5,000 copies."[12] Despite his concerns, Schacht applied to the Bollingen Foundation, which granted $5,000 "provided that the other funds needed to make publication possible are raised,"[13] and published in the newsletter of the American Council of Learned Societies a covert plea for funds hidden in an update on the encyclopedia:

> The new Encyclopaedia is to be accompanied by the *Atlas of Islamic History*. Again thanks to the generous support of the Rockefeller Foundation, the scholarly preparation of this work has been completed, and the technical prepara-

8. "Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Encyclopaedia of Islam," attended by Berg, Abel, Gabrieli, Gibb, Lewis, Miles, Massé, Nyberg, Paret, Pedersen, Pellat, Schacht, Wieder, Dumont, Burton-Page, and De Bruijn.

9. Wieder to Schacht, January 2, 1961.

10. Confidential letter, Wieder to Schacht, September 5, 1961. The £10,000 amount was the equal of $35,000, the selling price $25–$28. Eric W. Nye, *Pounds Sterling to Dollars: Historical Conversion of Currency*, accessed January 12, 2017, www.uwyo.edu/numimage/currency.htm.

11. Wieder to Schacht, March 21, 1962. The print run of 5,000 copies was "more than double the number of subscribers to the Encyclopaedia but I think that we may expect quite a number of additional subscribers to the Atlas."

12. Confidential "Note on the Correspondence Relating to the Historical Atlas of Islam," J. R. Bracken to Schacht, undated.

13. Schacht to Bollingen Foundation, May 25, 1962; John D. Barrett, President Bollingen Foundation, to Schacht, November 21, 1962.

> tion of the plates is making good progress, but the printing will demand a heavy subvention, and this problem is still unsolved although a promising start has been made.[14]

The "completed" scholarly preparation did not quite match Pitcher's progress report of March 1963, which stated that the research "is now far advanced, except for work on India and Indonesia" and included this additional unwelcome forecast:

> The cartographer has been busy preparing, to my detailed specifications, base-maps with rivers, contours, deserts, etc., for the first two sections, and he is now getting on with the third and fourth sections. This is a laborious process and takes a great deal of his time. By the end of the summer the balance of the Rockefeller Grant should have been used up in cartographical expenses. It is clear that however fast Mr. Jordan, the cartographer, works, he will be unable to complete the drawing of the final maps at a greater rate than one page per month (as we are using six-colour plates, he has to produce six drawings for one page); the 80 pages will therefore take him nearly seven years from now, unless we can find an assistant to do some of the less-skilled work. The cost of those drawings will be somewhere in the region of £7,000, as was suggested in the original estimate.[15]

Schacht immediately took steps to augment the Bollingen grant by approaching the Ford Foundation. In an interview on April 16, 1963, Schacht was told that if enough academic interest was shown by small, nonrecurrent subventions from high-ranking universities, it would provide a good argument for the Ford Foundation to make up the required amount. Schacht set about writing the chairs of Near Eastern centers in May 1963. Pitcher's sudden and unexpected death that summer goes unnoticed in the small archive of correspondence, but by February 1964, when Schacht approached Dean Cordier of Columbia University for $2,000, he had substituted Pitcher's name with that of W. C. Brice and could vouch for promises "averaging $2000 each" from four universities.[16] The actual amounts pledged were $2,800 from SOAS, $1,500 from Berkeley, $1,200 from UCLA, and $2,000 from Princeton.[17] Harvard, Michigan, and Yale, also on the list of potential donors, did not come through.

The process of appointing William Brice, lecturer in geography at the University of Manchester at the time, is not detailed—the minutes to the executive committee meet-

14. Joseph Schacht, "The Encyclopaedia of Islam," in *ACLS Newsletter* 14,2 (1963), 10.

15. "Historical Atlas Progress Report, March 1963."

16. Schacht to Dean Andrew W. Cordier, February 12, 1964.

17. Schacht to Dean Jacques Barzun, Dean of Faculties and Provost, Columbia University, February 5, 1964. Written on the letter is a marginal note: "11th February: to apply to Cordier, and Barzun will see to it that it is granted."

ing of August 31–September 1, 1964, note only that "Lewis described the steps which the Editors had taken [...] and reported that Brice had agreed to act as editor."[18] A year had passed in which work on the atlas had been halted and Brice had to find his way. He prepared a revised outline of the contents since close to half of the maps were in a fairly advanced stage of progress, he drafted a letter inviting scholars to contribute maps for the atlas, and he met with Wieder whereupon some discrepancies of procedure came to light. For one, a solution needed to be found between Wieder's "firm opinion" that contributors to the atlas should be paid and the editorial board's preference to only reimburse expenses. Brice himself suggested a payment of £50 per page. Secondly, Wieder's insistence that the price of the atlas would be set at £9 ("the publisher, in calculating the retail price, has to multiply the cost by a factor of between three and four," Brice was told) compared unfavorably to other atlases, to wit, the slightly larger *Bartholomews' Advanced Atlas of Modern Geography*, priced at £1.10; the even larger *Oxford Atlas*, priced at £3.30; and the largest of all *Times Atlas*, priced at £5. Brice proposed a a price of £3.10 and offered several suggestions for reducing the production costs.

Brice's letter had still not been sent by January 1965. The editors, Schacht wrote Wieder, were waiting for a formal agreement by E. J. Brill to publish the atlas. The funds pledged by the Bollingen Foundation and the other academic institutions would just cover recompense for the contributors (£4,000, at £50 per page for 80 pages) and an honorarium for the general editor, Brice, and the scholarly adviser, C. F. Beckingham,[19] also of the University of Manchester (together £1,000). Wieder happily answered a week later that Brill would publish the atlas.[20]

Four months later, letters were sent to the pledging institutions to ask for the promised funds; in addition, based on newly estimated editorial and other expenses to the tune of $15,000, Schacht sent a new letter to John Badeau, Director of the Middle East Institute at Columbia University, requesting a subvention of $2,000. Schacht guaranteed that if there were any funds left over, they would be provided to E. J. Brill to reduce the costs of production and thereby the retail price.[21] In July 1965, the Bursar at the Univer-

18. For William C. Brice (1921–2007), compiler of the corpus of the pre-Hellenic script, Linear A, among other achievements, see the obituary in *The Guardian* of August 27, 2007; the festschrift in his honor appeared as vol. 9 of the journal *Cretan Studies: Briciaka: A Tribute to W. C. Brice*, ed. Yves Duhoux (Amsterdam, 2003) (unseen). Brice's archive, which includes the Atlas correspondence, is held at SOAS (http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/rd/N14599514), but the collection is, as of January 2017, uncatalogued and not open to the public. I would like to thank Nil Palabiyik of John Rylands Library, University of Manchester, for her help in tracing this archive.

19. For C[harles] F[raser] Buckingham (1914–1998), who left Manchester for SOAS in 1965, see the obituary notice by Edward Ullendorff, in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 105 (2000), 275–86.

20. Schacht to Wieder, January 8, 1965; Wieder to Schacht, January 14, 1965.

21. Schacht to John Badeau, May 10, 1965. The naïveté of all concerned is an eye-opener fifty years later—any surplus would be so little as to effect no noticeable reduction in the costs attending to pro-

sity of Manchester had received three cheques, from the Bollingen Foundation ($5,000), UCLA (which sent $1,000 instead of the $1,200 pledged), and Berkeley ($1,500), and by November 1966, Columbia had come through with $2,500. No further confirmation of funds is found in the archives, but the preface to the published volume acknowledges also a grant from Princeton University. In the end, contributing cartographers, or consultants, of whom twenty-nine are listed, including the late Pitcher and Charles Beckingham, were paid £25 per full atlas page.

The archive of atlas documentation ends with a number of guides that were sent by Brice to contributors: a five-page "Instructions to Consultants," dated 4/6/1965 (likely, June 4, in British fashion); a one-page "Further Notes for Consultants," dated June 29, 1965; a one-page "Note on the Use of Inset Maps and 'Outriggers,'" dated July 24, 1965; and a "Proposed Draft" of the contents that superseded the one made earlier by Pitcher, dated July 24, 1965. The invitation to contribute to the atlas, which Brice had drafted in August 1964, was sent out around the same time. Thereupon a regular note of atlas progress is found in encyclopedia progress reports assembled by the editorial committee for executive committee meetings, as, for example, in that of December 1966, when it is noted that "Mr. Brice is making good progress with the preparation of the Atlas to be published in association with the Encyclopaedia," or in the minutes of said executive committee meetings. Following upon the "good progress" in 1971, the minutes of the meeting held on August 23, 1974 in Schloss Corvey, Höxter, Germany gave a slightly fuller report:

> About half of the maps is in a fairly advanced stage of progress and a technical programme for drawing and printing has been worked out. The bulk of the originally subscribed sum—ca. £4000—is still available for paying the draftsman and for other expenses of consultation and preparation.
>
> The chairman drew the attention to the "Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients" (TAVO), work on which was started in 1969. This Atlas will be published in two parts: A. Geography, with 9 sections and 60 maps (52 pages), B. History, with 10 sections and 191 maps (135 pages). The maps will measure 56x44 cm. Preparatory studies, made for the elaboration of the maps, will be published as "Beihefte" to the geographical and historical parts. The first seven studies of part B have already appeared. The first maps will be published in 1975 whereas the research will supposedly be finished in ca. 15 years. The Executive Committee expressed the wish to be informed about the relation between TAVO and the Historical Atlas of Islam.

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duction, even beyond the fact that the hoped-for and pledged funds exactly met the amount of the estimate of expenses.

The news of TAVO, whose 296 pages and some 400 maps were eventually published between 1977 and 1993, must have been a bit disheartening since the atlas aligned with the encyclopedia was still far from finished, sixteen years after it was proposed. Not published until 1981, its preparation was clearly very complex and far more time-consuming than imagined. The instruction guide itself, which was sent to the consultants, is a study in meticulousness. Each consultant was given two copies of the base map on which the cartographical information would be inscribed—in various colors and preferably within six months. The consultant was asked to ignore all "names, town symbols, roads, railways or political boundaries" already on the base map, drawing over everything but the coasts, hydrography, and typography shown. Black ink would be used for place-names and topographical features, with distinctions being made by way of upright letters (for political features of states, districts, towns, and cities) and italicized letters (for topographical features of rivers, mountains, seas, lakes, deserts, and such), of which there were five degrees: large caps, smaller caps, and three sizes of regular title case.[22] Consultants were to use their discretion in determining the degree of importance as represented by the size to each feature, which might later be changed when all the maps were brought into line. Black would be used as well for railways, mint towns ("indicated by a small capital M, followed in brackets by the dates between which the mint operated"), and the crossed-swords symbol used for battles. Red ink was to be used for political boundaries (made up of dots and dashes, or just widely spaced dashes when indeterminate, in three thicknesses—for imperial, state, and provincial frontiers; extra instruction was given to represent considerable doubt about a boundary or an extensive no-man's-land between boundaries), roads (three types of lines: wide for main caravan highways, narrow for secondary roads, and narrow and broken for minor roads), and economic features (by name in longhand). Yellow ink was intended for ethnic information ("unless there are technical objections"), in italicized letters in the same five grades of importance used for place-names. Migrations of peoples were to be shown with yellow arrows, varying in thickness according to the importance of the migration. Blue ink was for wells and oases, their symbols being a circle and three leaning trees underlined, respectively. Finally, the representation of other features considered important by the consultant, such as vegetation, rainfall, salt flats, the limits of a desert, was left up to the discretion of the consultant. Crowding on the base map (which was also full of its original features, over which would be drawn) could be mitigated by drawing on a superimposed piece of tracing paper.

Unfortunately, the documentation that would testify to how the theoretical procedures listed above held up in practice is not available for consultation.[23] For the moment, we have no idea how well it was adhered to, what problems arose and needed to be solved

22. For those who might have difficulty drawing an italicized letter to distinguish it from an upright letter, the possibility of underlining it instead was offered.

23. See n18, above.

to ease the consultants' work, or how long it actually took the consultants to compile and the editor to collect all the drawn draft maps.

Having understood that the atlas was a supplement to the encyclopedia, Wieder planned to send it to all of the encyclopedia subscribers as part of their subscription, without advance notification. Van Donzel was little pleased, although it was "primarily Brill's affair, and it was elegant enough to ask our opinion." He argued that "the customers might feel that the work is forced upon them." Brill then proposed that the "despatch" of the atlas would be announced, "unless the customer writes to say that he does not want to receive it."[24] This discussion was a precursor of the knottier argument that occurred when the indexes were prepared. Having a subscription base, especially one made up of libraries, has always been a prime selling recourse for publishers that lends itself to such maneuvers.

The atlas—priced ultimately at ƒ120 (approx. $44, £24)—was published in 1981 to general acclaim, among Islamicists and geographers alike.[25] Not only did it fill a lacuna in available resources, but it did that very well. A second edition, this time not authorized by the editors, was published in 2002. Having heard about this revised atlas only shortly before its publication, the editors were nonplussed. At such a late date, they were not allowed any say and the publisher refused even to entertain the suggestion that a list of names dealt with in the encyclopedia be included and cross-referenced. The editors' only recourse was to not allow their names and that of the encyclopedia to be attached to the revision. This did not stop Brill from advertising it in conjunction with the encyclopedia, however.

By this time, the index to the first three volumes had also just appeared. Ten years earlier it had narrowed in scope from its original conception and publication had been brought forward:

> In order to facilitate reference to the Encyclopaedia, it has also been decided to compile an index to the names of persons, places, institutions, etc., mentioned in the articles in the first three volumes. An indexer is being sought to undertake this work under the direction of the Editorial Committee, but the compilation of the index will, of course, take some time and involve considerable cost. The Editors feel, nevertheless, that the provision of an index should significantly increase the value of the Encyclopaedia as a work of reference.[26]

The search for and selection of an indexer is unfortunately missing in the encyclopedia archive. Documents from which one can piece together a smattering of index history

24. Van Donzel to Lewis, April 12, 1981.

25. See the reviews in inter alia the *Geographical Journal* 148 (1982), 283–85; *BSMES Bulletin* 10 (1983), 180–89; *Erdkunde* 36 (1982), 221; *Annales de Géographie* 94 (1985), 94–95.

26. Eleventh Progress Report of the Editorial Committee, December 1971.

present conflicting dates and information, perhaps due to the vagaries of memory. From a stray remark in a letter from Victor Ménage, payment for work on the index had begun as of June 1972, but the indexers themselves said they were approached in 1973.[27] Despite this discrepancy, in April 1974 it was announced that the index was expected to be finished in the course of 1975 and a subvention from UNESCO would be requested to fund it.[28] Enlightenment as to the indexer follows in August 1974. At an executive committee meeting, at which only Van Ess, Van Donzel, Gabrieli, Meier, Paret, and the associated member Talbi were present (letters of apology had been received from eighteen members and associated members), reference is made to Mrs Hilda Pearson's progress report, which must have been the source of the April announcement.[29] At this time, the estimated cost was $9,000, $4,000 of which had been duly received as subsidy from UNESCO, if somewhat randomly:

> About last March, Mme Nurit wrote to me about a subvention of $4000 from UNESCO, payable to Ldn. She had written to Miss P. and had no reply. I replied immediately (as the money looked like slipping away), saying 'Let the cheque be made out to me personally' (as I—only—can sign the EI cheques in London). The cheque came, I paid it in, and signed an undertaking to account personally for the expending of the money.
>
> I have now had a lot of forms from 'Jean d'Ormesson' Unesco, asking for "les pièces justifiant l'emploi de la subvention de $4000'. In fact I know absolutely nothing about this money. Is this (1974) the first year there has been a subvention from this source? If so, is it specifically intended for the index? If so, can I refer to expenditure on the index made before 1 Jan. 1974, or is that expenditure ineligible? If in fact the index has not cost $4000 during 1974, can we carry any balance into 1975 without jeopardising a 1975 subvention? (If not, I shall

27. "[I] have sent Mrs Pearson a document to sign attesting that she has received £2000 plus since June 1972." Ménage to Van Donzel, December 22, 1974. For Mrs. Pearson's reminiscences ("In 1973 my husband, Professor J. D. Pearson [...] and myself were asked if we would combine our interests and undertake to produce an index to the first three volumes already published of EI2") and an explanation of the indexing method applied and its concomitant problems, see Hilda M. Pearson, "The Encyclopaedia of Islam and Its Index," *The Indexer* 13,1 (1982), 33–35.

28. Report, penned by Van Donzel, titled simply "Encyclopédie de l'Islam, Deuxième édition." In a report or press announcement of the state of affairs through 1974, dated September 1975, the index was described as being one "of proper names which have no special entry [... and] will also contain the english and french equivalents of the arabic, persian and turkish terms used in the text."

29. Report of the Meeting of the Executive Committee held in Schloss Corvey (near Höxter, Germany), August 23, 1974. This was the beginning of the executive committee fading from view and becoming, for unknown reasons, extraneous except in the instances of editorial appointments, when their acquiescence was nominally requested.

> get Mrs Pearson to present a bill dated 31 December in order to use up as much as possible of the money.)[30]

Hilda Pearson, née Wilkinson, was the wife of J. D. Pearson, well known for his bibliographical work in Middle Eastern Studies and especially for *Index Islamicus*, an index of journal (and festschriften) articles that first appeared in 1958.[31] At the time of the search for an indexer, he was very recently retired from a long career as Librarian at SOAS, in London. Although much of the written material calls the work a co-effort of husband and wife, the brunt seems to have fallen more on Hilda.[32] She described the method used and the complications that ensued, since spelling and onomastics played a role in confusing identical terms or people, in her article for fellow-indexers. Evidencing the shoestring budget, Hilda Pearson was "fortunate to acquire large quantities of index cards which have only been used on one side (they are expensive to buy) mostly from librarians who have gone over to computer cataloguing and are only too pleased to find someone who can make use of their old catalogue cards."[33] On these 5 x 3 inch cards were written, first, "headings in blue ink, unless the French entries differ from the English, in which case they are written in red ink."[34] An "imaginary line" divided the card in two, with the English volume and page in blue ink on the left and the French equivalent in red ink on the right. As the cards were alphabetical, a heading not shared by the English and French, such as Peter the Great and Pierre le Grand, had to be given separate cards. Subheadings were given their own cards, which were then "clipped to the main card." Cross-references were made from the English and French words to the equivalent Islamicate word, where possible. The different spellings (Gōzgān and Djuzdjān, Avicenna and Ibn Sīnā), the varying names for one and the same person (e.g., *ism*, *kunya*, *nisba*, or the Turkish Meḥmed, Meḥmet, Meḥemmed for Muḥammad), the identical names (Ḥasan Pasha, Ibn al-Sadīd) for more than one individual, and the singular and plurals of (similar) terms being used

30. Ménage to Van Donzel, December 6, 1974. Miss P. was an M. Patterson, hired as secretary to the London office on June 1, 1972 to December 31, 1974 (Van Donzel to Ménage, June 4, 1975). Van Donzel notes marginally that he responded on the 15th, answering "yes" to the first two questions, "yes, there will be another, probably" to the question of a 1975 subvention, and "please do" to the final suggestion.

31. For a review of the first publication, see that by A. F. L. Beeston, in *BSOAS* 22 (1959), 585.

32. Ménage also confirms Hilda Pearson's large contribution in a letter to Van Donzel (March 1, 1975): "She appears to have worked very steadily at it (it is a job that would have me insane in three days)." I am grateful to Paul Auchterlonie for confirming that Hilda M. Pearson died in the mid-2000s. For J[ames] D. Pearson (1911–1997), see the short biography in the volume in his honor, *Middle East Studies and Libraries: A Felicitation Volume for Professor J. D. Pearson*, ed. B. C. Bloomfield (London, 1980), ix–xi; and the (similar) online obituary notice, also by Bloomfield, Pearson's deputy and successor, in *The Independent* of August 8, 1997.

33. Pearson to Van Donzel, January 9, 1986.

34. This and following quotes concerning method are taken from Pearson's *Indexer* article (n27, above).

with abandon (*walī*, *awliyāʾ*, *wālī*, *wulāt*) were only a few of the difficulties encountered—not just for an indexer who did not have a command of the languages. Unfortunately, mistakes of identity and omissions were left uncorrected and persisted throughout the multiple index editions.

The index to the first three volumes was finished in 1975. The production of the index turned out to be a complicated procedure all around, requiring, first, the index cards—estimated to be "some 15,000 proper names on ca. 20,000 cards"[35]—to be transported from England to Holland by car,[36] then the indexed information to be transferred to tape in the form of magnetic cards, and then to legible text. Progress was very slow ("due to lack of funds," Van Donzel wrote).[37] A few years later, Van Donzel explained the index's delayed appearance to Jean d'Ormesson of UNESCO, without specifying what the editorial process actually consisted of:

> In the beginning, the encyclopedia editors had agreed with Brill that the Index text would be typeset directly from the cards that Mrs. Pearson prepared. When these were ready, I drew up a list of explanations for the typesetters. But I was made to understand that it was necessary to adjust the cards in such a way that it would not be any problem for the typesetters, that it was impossible for them to think about certain general rules during the composition. Since I did not have the means to have this work done by an advanced student of Arabic, I had to adapt the 18,000 files myself, but this work had to be done in "free" time. Thus, the revision took a considerable time.[38]

In January 1978, Wieder was urged to "start working on the Index," and in November 1978, "correcting the proofs of the Index is almost finished."[39] Although mention is made a few times to this index having been composed on a computer, in order to store the data for the upcoming cumulative editions, what is meant was a very early apparatus that "typeset" the text on tape in the form of magnetic codes. This tape was then turned into text by another apparatus, on sheets of photographic paper. The copies made of these sheets functioned as proofs. Finally, in mid-1979, the first edition appeared, to general appreciation. One of the reviews appearing very shortly afterward borrows much from the preface, notes some lacunae ("but, as the Index is not intended to be comprehensive,

35. Reports over the year 1975 penned by Van Donzel, April 12 and May 30, 1976. A later assessment, in the report over 1978, undated, estimated the number of proper names to be 18,000; cf. preface to the index ("over 18,000").

36. Ménage to Van Donzel, March 1, 1975.

37. Report over the year 1976 by Van Donzel, September 1977.

38. Van Donzel to d'Ormesson, March 3, 1979.

39. Respectively, Van Donzel to Lewis, January 5 and November 8, 1978. There were three stages of proof corrections.

I cannot complain that it is not!"), and highly recommends its use to even those without a set of the encyclopedia.[40]

Another UNESCO grant of $2,500 had been requested and received in 1978 for the preparation of the index to volume four, which was undertaken also by Hilda Pearson. The second index edition had originally been expected to follow upon completion of volume four, but the editors decided not to publish it in isolation, rather to combine upcoming volumes in what would be a cumulative edition, which would be easier on the consumer's pocket. The UNESCO regulations continued to elude the editors and letters from d'Ormesson arrived on a regular basis to set them on the straight and narrow:

> Enclosed [with the financial report] was a voucher for $2,450, the remaining sum of $50 having been spent, according to the report, for administrative costs, procedure which is contrary to our rules. I should like to add that the report is filled in somewhat incompletely. Another point which I would like to raise is that in 1975, when the grant was requested, the publication of Index for Volume IV was envisaged for 1980 and not 1990 as stated on page 2 of the financial report. You will remember that Unesco expects the projects which benefit by its assistance to be carried out within the given time limit, and I really don't see how I can explain a delay of ten years![41]

> With regards to the more serious question of the appearance of the index, I quite understand your position and your wish to publish the index to volumes IV, V and IV. But the subvention was requested for the publication of the index to Volume IV in 1980. If it now will not appear until the end of 1990, there is clearly a significant postponement compared to the dates foreseen in the subvention request. The financial officer will not fail to notice this slide. I will try to do my best. In eventual requests to come, an attempt should be made—and I know how difficult this is—to coordinate as best as possible the projections with the actual pace of the work.[42]

With the second index edition, the procedure of compiling entries changed slightly—additions to existing entries were made on a xerox of the "computer" printout, so that the codes that the typesetter needed to find the text were present; new entries were written on new cards, which were then numbered in alphabetical order and the numbers entered in the proper location on the xerox for the typesetter to know where to code the new text. Eventually, because "the actual pace of the work" could not be guaranteed and UNESCO could not fund publications if their appearance was not in the short term,

40. J. Derek Latham, in *BSMES Bulletin* 6 (1979), 142–43.
41. D'Ormesson to Bosworth, January 16, 1979
42. D'Ormesson to Bosworth, February 13, 1979. This letter, unusually, is in French.

more money was not forthcoming and work on the second edition was halted.[43] An attempt was made to elicit a subsidy through the offices of Ezzidin Ibrahim, at that time Vice-Chancellor of Al-'Ayn University in the Emirates, but no response came from that initiative.[44] The intrepid Mrs. Pearson continued with the index, however, and had finished indexing volume four and was a good way into volume five when she wrote a status update in November 1985. She predicted that she would be finished with volume five by "Easter next year," hampered slightly by the round-the-world trip she was taking with her husband in the winter. She asked that a new indexer be found after that as "by the time that Volume VI is complete I shall be a real old lady."[45] Her concrete date of Easter prompted a letter to d'Ormesson, renewing the request for funds.[46] The latter responded six months later, repeating prior arguments as to the need to publish within the given time stated for the grant, which had been breached on two earlier occasions—the original grant was given in 1974 for a publication that finally saw the light in 1979 and $2,500 was given in 1978 for publication of the index to volume four, promised in 1980 but yet to appear—and regretting that a grant was impossible.[47] Still without any promise of funds to pay Hilda Pearson for her work, the cards compiling the index of volumes four and five were received, and Van Donzel himself set to work to add the Supplement fascicules that had been published to date.[48] He expected it to be finished and sent to the press at the end of 1987.[49] Three-quarters of a $4,000 gift from E. J. Brill, received in September 1987 and used to make up some of the outside monies that would be matched by NEH, was sent to Hilda Pearson as payment for her work.[50] Van Donzel had a larger share than normal of the NEH grant for editorial funds set aside for his use; presumably he paid himself for his work.[51]

The second cumulative edition was sent to subscribers in 1989 and the working method was adjusted to compile the index after each fascicule appearance, thus speeding up the work for the next cumulative edition, foreseen after volume seven. But since it had not taken long for Brill to see the benefit of marketing an updated, increasingly larg-

43. Van Donzel to Lewis, June 30, 1982.

44. António Dias Farinha, Chair of the Executive Committee, to Ezzidin Ibrahim, November 1, 1982.

45. Hilda Pearson to Bosworth, November 28, 1985.

46. Van Donzel to d'Ormesson, December 31, 1985.

47. D'Ormesson to Van Donzel, June 11, 1986.

48. "Semi-Annual Performance Report RT-20613-85" (intended for the NEH), dated January 1987. In an earlier communication, Van Donzel noted Bosworth's offer to bring the cards by car on a trip to Leiden in the summer of 1986. Van Donzel to Hilda Pearson, December 31, 1985.

49. "Semi-Annual Performance Report RT-20613-85," dated June 1987.

50. "Endowment Grant RT-20613-85" over the year 1987, dated February 8, 1988.

51. In a letter to the Dutch Academy, which processed the NEH funds, Van Donzel charged $6,500 over the period November 30, 1987–December 31, 1988 for the index. Van Donzel to Van der Mei, March 30, 1989.

er index again and again and to demand an index after the appearance of each volume, a third edition was published in 1991 following the appearance of volume six. It included ca. 38,000 names. The index was becoming unwieldy—for this reason also, death dates or centuries were added to identify persons and the dynasty added to identify rulers—and it was decided to separate it into two after the third edition. Bearman began working on an index of subjects, and later an index of technical terms was commissioned. Both began appearing, also as cumulative editions, in 1992 and 1995 respectively. The index of terms started off on the wrong foot with the compiler not following instructions, so that another was brought in to clean it up and fill lacunae; after the first edition, it was taken over by Bearman, who tried to both add the next volume's contents and fix the problems while the publisher budgeted the assured income and waited impatiently for the result. It did not help that Bearman and the publisher were one and the same.

Issues with the indexes reached a head sometime in the late 1990s, when both Van Donzel and Bearman, who had by then left Brill, were presented with contracts for their respective roles as compilers (by this time Bearman had taken over the index of terms as well). The contracts ended up exacerbating relations as the compilers wished to take time to index each volume carefully while the publisher wanted the indexes out quickly and by the date that was stipulated in each contract. Although the compilers had successfully argued for a royalty—an agreement was finally reached at seven-and-a-half percent—and were thus paid for their work, the indexes suffered from the imposed haste. An index was expected to appear following each volume while a minimum of four fascicules, French and English, appeared each year.[52] The publisher's desire to sell the CD-ROM of the encyclopedia, which required the indexes to be ready ahead of the volume's appearance—an impossibility—added fuel to the fire. The index of terms following volume nine, for example, was not prepared when the publisher issued the CD-ROM including that volume, so that an incomplete proof—uncorrected as well—had been used, very much to the editors' unhappiness.[53]

In September 2000, when he was pressed by the publisher to give a date for the next iteration of the index of proper names, that following volume ten, Van Donzel guessed that he would have finished it by the following May. However, at the editorial meeting in November the editors were agreed that this would be premature as the French volume

52. With the unexpected death of the French editor in 1997, the French edition suffered delays that it could not rise above. Although contracted to submit three French fascicule manuscripts each year, everyone worked overtime to get two out.

53. The contretemps that played out here was seemingly lost to history by the time, a few months later, Brill advertised upcoming updates to the CD-ROM of volumes ten and eleven, to appear in respectively 2000 and 2001. Volume ten, however, would only be completed in mid-2000, at which time none of the "component" (thus advertised) indexes, required for the update—irrespective of the complete absence of consultation with the compilers—would have been prepared. Volume eleven was only expected to be concluded late-2001.

for the index was delayed. When this was relayed to Brill, they exerted pressure by claiming that an oral agreement had been reached and the income had been budgeted for the year. For the latter reason as well, a separate English edition would not be sufficient, as it brought in less than the budgeted income. Van Donzel was pressured into submitting an incomplete index, which he tried to account for in his preface by recounting the facts of the case. Unsurprisingly, the publisher protested, not wanting any publicity of disagreements between the two sides. Van Donzel acquiesced, submitted a new preface, but warned that the French preface needed to be corrected by the French editor. This was ignored and the entire—incomplete and uncorrected—index was published. This set the stage for increased mistrust and animosity. The publisher threatened to have another compile the indexes, and ended up doing just that for the final version of the index of terms when Bearman refused to submit an incomplete manuscript.

The history of the supplementary publications offers a sad end to the final years of the encyclopedia, which played out in this shadow. The conception and original realization were admirable, but the commercial success sacrificed the scholarly product. As far as the editors were concerned, Brill had morphed into a money-hungry monster, indifferent to the quality of its publications, while Brill no doubt viewed the editors with disdain for their intransigence and indifference to the profitable aspect of their production.

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